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NOVEMBER, 1944

[Part 1

THE
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[Part 1

THE MYSTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF 'EVAM'

By **GOPINATH KAVIRAJ**

I

Jayaratha, in his commentary on Abhinava Gupta's *Tantrāloka* (III. 94-95) quotes the following verse from an unknown source :

एकाराकृति यद् दिव्य मध्ये षट्कारभूषितम् ।
आलयः सर्वसौम्यानां बोधरत्नकरण्डकम् ॥

What this verse exactly means is not clear from the context of the commentary. Nor does Jayaratha mention the source of his quotation. But a study of the Tantric Buddhist literature, specially of the Vajrayāna and allied schools of the later age, would make it clear that the couplet is taken from a work of this system and refers to a great mystic symbol current in the same. The commentary on *Tilapa* quotes this stanza and attributes it to Hevajra. It is evident from a glance at this commentary that Jayaratha's quotation, as it appears in the printed edition, is different and probably incorrect, so far as the reading 'षट्कार' is concerned, the correct reading being 'एवकार'. The reading, 'बोधरत्नकरण्डक' should also be amended in favour of 'बुद्धरत्नकरण्डक', a reading which is actually found in Hevajra. The meaning of the verse as thus corrected is

that what is known as 'बुद्धरत्नकरण्डक'¹ or the Essence of Supreme Wisdom—the home of all forms of Joy—is symbolised by a celestial form which looks like ए with व(कार) inserted within it. This symbol is usually referred to under the name of 'एवकार' in Buddhist mystic literature. The Hevajra itself says :—

आनन्दास्तत्र जायन्ते क्षणभेदेन भेदिताः । .


क्षणज्ञानात् सुखज्ञानम् 'एवकार'प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

which shows that it is within this एवकार that different Joys, based on different Kṣaṇas, are believed to take their rise.

The general feature of the symbol is clear enough. The letter 'ए' is represented as ▽, a triangle with its vertex downwards. The letter 'व' with *bindu* attached (वकार) is represented as △, a triangle with its vertex upwards, the *bindu* (point) being in the centre. 'वकार' is described as being within the एकार, so that the final shape of the symbol would be something like this ▽△ Bindu is the common centre of both the triangles and stands for Yoga or union of both.

The two triangles, ए and व, are the separate symbols of Śakti and Śiva respectively and are called शक्तित्रिकोण and

¹ Also called धर्मकरण्डक. It is the *mahāmudrā* in which शून्यता and कल्याण are unified. It is described as the receptacle (आधार) of Buddha Jewel (बुद्धरत्न) or the Ultimate Truth (परमार्थसत्य) and as the last ornament (आभरण) of a Vajrayānī Yogin. The Yogin is said to build up a करण्डक in his own body by means of *manas* (mind) and *pavana* (vital principle), when he proceeds, in the language of the Siddhācāryas, to marry the Dombī. In the language of the Siddhānta Śaiva School we may identify this Bindu with the Akṣara Bindu, otherwise known as Anāhata Bindu, which issues from the Supreme Bindu as its second expression, after the manifestation of Nāda, and which is the immediate antecedent to the physical articulate sound expressed as letter-sounds of the alphabet (वर्ण, अक्षरमाला). See Sadyojyoti's commentary on *Ratnatraya* (verse 22).

शिवत्रिकोण in Hindu Āgamic literature, and Bindu is the point where Śakti and Śiva are united together. The usual form of the symbolism is , known as *Ṣaṭkoṇa* with bindu within. The *Devendra-Pariprcchā-Tantra* quoted in a copy of *Subhāṣita-Saṅgraha*, a Ms of which was once brought to me for inspection long ago, has two verses relevant to the mystic significance of the great symbol. The verses are :

एकारस्तु भवेन्माता वकारस्तु पिता स्मृतः ।

बिन्दुस्तत्र भवेद् योगः स योगः परमाक्षरः ॥

एकारस्तु भवेत् प्रज्ञा वंकारः सुरताधिपः ।

बिन्दुश्चानाहतं ज्ञानं तज्जन्यान्यक्षराणि च ॥

Here we find that ए represents Mother (or प्रज्ञा i.e., Śakti), व Father (or सुरताधिपः i.e., Śiva) and Bindu their union (योगः), which is the Supreme Akṣara (परमाक्षर), otherwise known as अनाहतज्ञान, the ultimate source of all *akṣaras*.

Kānhapāda, in one of his *Dohās*, says—

एवंकार दिढ वाखोड मोडिड ।

विविह विआपक बान्धण तोडिड ॥²

कान्ह विलसअ आसव माता ।

सहज नलिनीवन पइसि निबिता ॥³

The commentary notes : “एकारश्चन्द्राभासः, वंकारः सूर्यः, उभयं दिवा-रात्रिज्ञानम्.” That is, ए is the Moon or Night and वं is the Sun or Day, so that एवं stands for Night and Day or Time (काल). In the Yogic language, usually the moon is taken to be the representative of Prakṛti and the Sun that of Puruṣa. This interpretation too would thus corroborate the sense in the above.

It is well-known in the Mahayanic and Vajrayanic Buddhist literature, though it is a mystery the true significance of which can hardly be appreciated outside the

² *Caryāpāda*, ed by M. M. Baṣu, Cal. University 1943, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*

esoteric circle, that there is a great difference, fundamental in nature, between the two Nayas of Mahāyāna, viz., Prajñāpāramitā-Naya and Mantra-Naya. It is said that the truths of the former wisdom were revealed by the Teacher from the heights of Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, but the secrets of Mantric lore were expounded from a distinct place known as Śrī Dhānya. These are in my opinion really the names of two Pīṭhas within the body and should not be confounded with the well-known geographical sites of the same name, with which, for special reasons, they are usually identified.

The *Mūla Tantra*, cited by Naropa in his commentary on *Sekoddeśa*, says :

आकाशे त्वजडे स्वच्छेऽनवकाशप्रकाशिनि ।
 विज्वे वज्जालये लयने (?) धर्मधातौ मनोरमे ॥
 तन्त्रस्य देशना पुंसां पुण्यज्ञानप्रयोजनम् ।
 एकारो गगनालोको धर्मधातुः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
 वंकारः सुगतव्यूह एकारे सम्यग् विष्टितः ॥

This shows that the Symbol ए, within which the figure वं is inserted, represents the pure spiritual light of infinite space conceived as *Dharmadhātu* (or Essence of Dharma) and that the enclosed figure व stands for the series of the Buddhas who have realized their identity with this *Dhātu*.

Elsewhere it is declared that ए is Bhaga (Yoni, triangle of Śakti), Dharmodaya (*Dharmadhātu* revealed), lotus, Simhāsana and Ādhāra, whereas वं is the Ādi Buddha or Vajra Sattva seated thereon as its Ādheya :

ए रहस्याख्यधातौ वा भगे धर्मोदयेऽम्बुजे ।
 सिंहासने स्थितो वज्ररी उक्तस्तन्त्रान्तरे मया ॥
 वं वज्ररी वज्रसत्त्वश्च वज्रभैरव ईश्वरः ।
 हेवज्रः कालचक्रश्च आदिबुद्धादिनामकः ॥

In the Hindu Tantras also the highly mystic character of the symbol is recognised and its interpretation is more .

or less of a similar nature. As in the Buddhist works, the letter ए symbolizes, in the form of a triangle (शृङ्गाट), the Śakti Yantra (Bhaga, Yoni) conceived as the House of Fire (वह्निगेह):

त्रिकोणमेकादशमं वह्निगेहं च योनिकम् ।

शृङ्गाटं चैव एकार नामभिः परिकीर्तितम् ॥

It is the secret sphere (गुप्तमण्डल) within infinite space (वियत्स्थ) and is usually described as the “mouth of Yoginī” (योगिनीवक्त्र). Its three angles represent the three powers of Will, Knowledge and Action, and within its sacred precincts lies buried, like the वंकार in Buddhist literature, the mystery of the so-called *Ciñciṃ-Krama* :

त्रिकोणं भगमित्युक्तं वियत्स्थं गुप्तमण्डलम् ।

इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाकोणं तन्मध्ये चिञ्चिणीक्रमम् ॥

It may be pointed out that the letter ए, even in the early days of its appearance in the Brāhmī script of Aśoka, had the shape of a triangle. From a consideration of phono-genetics it would seem that ए = अ (or आ) + इ. The letters अ and आ signify the basic or initial vibration of the Transcendent Consciousness-Power and the bubbling of ineffable Joy respectively and the letter इ denotes Will-Power. When these are combined the result is the manifestation of a triangle :

अनुत्तरानन्दचित्ती इच्छाशक्तौ नियोजिते ।

त्रिकोणमिति यत् प्राहुर्विसर्गानन्दसुन्दरम् ॥

It is to be remembered, however, that the transcendent (अनुत्तर = अ) consisting of the three Śaktis, viz., रौद्री, ज्येष्ठा and वामा is of the nature of a triangle; so is Joy (आनन्द = आ). What is known as the hexagon or the Tantric *Ṣaṭkoṇa* is the result of the union of the aforesaid triangles अ or आ on one hand and ए on the other. This is symbolized

by the letter ऐ. It is known in the Tantras as the well-known षडर, which is held to be one of the greatest secrets of the Science.

The ए॒ of Buddhist mysticism and the ऐ of Tantric mysticism would thus virtually signify the same or a similar symbol and are held to be equally sacred.

RĀFI'-UL-KHILĀF

• OF SITA RAM KAYASTHA SAKSENA, OF LUCKNOW

(Kavīndrācārya's *Jñānasāra* and its Persian Translation)

By TARA CHAND

• The manuscript* consists of 62 folios, 8½ ins. by 6 ins. Each page contains 13 lines.

Not much information is available concerning Sita Ram, the author of this treatise. The copyist Shital Rai Asthana calls the author Jāmi' Ka'mālāt-i-sūri-o-m'anvi Rai Sita Ram Lakhnavi (جامع کمالات صوری و معنوی راءے سيتا رام لکھنوی) and gives 1199 A. H. (1784 A.D.) as the date of the copy, which was therefore written only 18 years after the composition of the work by the author.

Rāfi'-ul-Khilāf (رافع الخلاف) which means the "remover of difference" is a work in the tradition of Dara Shukoh's *Majma'-ul-babrain* (مجمع البحرين). Sita Ram explaining the object of the work points out that the differences which exist between the religious beliefs of the Hindus and Muslims are superficial and based on lack of understanding, for in reality "all paths—Zorastrian, Muslim, Jew, Christian, Magian, Hindu—seek God—the Glorious and Exalted." He goes on to say that Dara Shukoh wrote *Majma'-ul-babrain* in order to reconcile differences, but the treatise was so short that many difficulties remained unexplained, therefore, he undertook to compose in Persian a commentary on Śrī Kavīndrācārya's *Jñāna-Sāra* which is a Bhāsā version of the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha* in Sanskrit. He has given the dohas in Hindi and a running translation and commentary of each doha in Persian. Wherever necessary he has quoted Persian and

*The MS belongs to the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Alld.

Arabic texts to show that the teachings of the *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha* accord with those of Muslim mystics.

Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī is a wellknown scholar who lived in Benares during the latter part of the 17th cent. All that is known about him is related in the following:—

1. *Kavindrācārya sūci patram*, edited by Dr. Ganganatha Jha, *Gaekwad Oriental Series* No. XVII, 1921. Introduction.
2. *Kavindrācandrodaya*, edited by Pandits Haradutta Sharma and M. M. Patkar, *Poona Oriental Series*, Series No. 60. Introduction.
3. *Annal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, for December 1940. Bernier and Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī by Pt. P. K. Gode.

Additional information which confirms Pt. P. K. Gode's suggestion concerning the identity of the Benares Pandit mentioned in Bernier's *Travels* with Kavindrācārya, comes from the Pādshah Namah of Mohammad Wāris, which is the completion of the Pādshah Namah of Abdul Hamid Lahori. The manuscript of Wāris in the Allahabad University Library contains the following passage (p. 200.b), under the account of the 24th year of the reign of Shahjahan when he was weighed at Lahore on attaining the sixty-first year of his age (according to the Lunar reckoning):

کب اندر سنیا سی کہ دربار یست دهرید و تصنیفات هندوی
سلیقه درست و مهارت تمام دارد و بدر گاه عالم پناه رسیده رخصت
بار یافت و تصنیفاتش پسند طبع مبارک افتاده به انعام اسپ و خلعت
و دو هزار روپیه نقد مباحی گشته سر عزت بر اوج فلک برافراشت -

“Kavindra Sanyāsī who is a Darbari has a correct taste and complete mastery in Dhrupad music and Hindi literary composition. He came to the court of the emperor (the protector of the world) and obtained permission for entry.

His compositions were found pleasing by the Emperor, he was exalted with the award of a horse, a robe of honour, and two thousand rupees in cash. In esteem he was raised to the height of the sky."

Kavindrācārya must have been a remarkable personality. He was a scholar who had access to the court of the Mughal Emperor, who conferred upon him the title of *Sarva-vidyānidhāna*, and is reputed to have intervened on behalf of the sacred cities of Benares and Prayaga in obtaining remission from the pilgrim tax. The Persian annals do not record either the imposition or remission of the tax, but *Kavīndracandrodaya* which is a literary anthology of verses in his honour celebrates the achievement. He was a philosopher, who had no hesitation in teaching the doctrines and dogmas of Hinduism to non-Hindus, e.g., Bernier and Dānishmand Khān, besides Dārā Shukoh. He wrote commentaries on a part of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Dasa Kumaracarita*. He was a poet who composed a *Kalpadruma* containing stories in Sanskrit. He was a bibliophile who collected together a large and comprehensive library, and he had no prejudices in getting some of his religious works copied by Muslim copyists. He composed also verses in Bhāṣā. Grierson (in the modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan) mentions, "at the instance of the Emperor Shahjahan (1628-58) he took to writing poems in the vernacular. His principal work of this nature was the *Kavindra-kalpa-latā*, in which there are many poems in praise of Dara Shukoh and the Begam Sahiba." Thakur Shiva Singh Sengar quotes some of these verses in the *Śiva-Sinha-Saroj*. In the search reports of Hindi manuscripts compiled under the auspices of the Nāgari Prachārīnī Sabhā two other works of Kavindra in Hindi are mentioned: (1) *Samarasāra* and (2) *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* or *Jñānasāra*. Concerning the first Shyam Sundar Das says that it is an astrological treatise for finding out

auspicious days for expeditions. According to Misra brothers it is a work of Padmakar class in mixed Braja and Avadhi.

Yogavāsīṣṭha Sāra or *Jñāna Sāra* is the text which has been translated and annotated by Sita Ram. He has used the text to demonstrate the identity of the teachings of Muslim Sufism with those of *Yogavāsīṣṭha*.

The book is supposed to be divided into 6 chapters. The introductory *dobā* of the *Jñānasāra* is—

है अनंत व्यापक सकल चिनमय सीरो धाम ।
अनुभव तें ठहरात है ता को करूँ प्रनाम ॥

The chapters are entitled as follows:

- (1) Bairāga Parakaran
(बैराग परकरन)
- (2) Atha Jagat mithyat nāma dutiya Parakaran.
(अथ जगत मिथ्यात नाम दुतिय परकरन)
- (3) Atha Jivan-mukt nāma tritiya Parakaran.
(अथ जीवन मुक्त नाम तृतीय परकरन)
- (4) Atha manon nirūpana nāma caturtha Parakaran
(अथ मनो निर्रूपन नाम चतुर्थ परकरन)
- (5) Pañcama Parakaran
(पंचम परकरन)
- (6) Atama Satya nāma Ṣaṭam Parakaran
(आतम सत्या नाम षटम् परकरन)
- (7) Siddha nirūpana nāma Sapta Parakaran
(सिद्ध निरूपन नाम सप्त परकरन)
- (8) Atama Barnana nāma asman Parakaran
(आतम बर्नन नाम अस्मन परकरन)
- (9) Atama nirūpan
(आतम निरूपन)
- (10) Brahma tat nirūpan
(ब्रह्म तत् निरूपन)

It ends with one dohā and six chaupais in which Kavindra is praised:

परमेसर कों पाइकै पाइ किरपा कौलेस ।
 बहु ग्रंथ अनुभव किये और गुरु के उपदेस ॥
 कवीन्द्र सरसुती संन्यासी, पण्डित ज्ञानी काशी बासी ॥
 अरथ उपनिषद नीके जान, लियो परम ब्रह्म पहचान ॥
 उन एह ग्रंथ भल्यो बनायो, याह बनावत बहु सुख पायो ॥
 'ज्ञान सार' है या को नाम, ज्ञानी पावें सो सुख धाम ॥
 जो लौं रहिहैं भूम अकास, तौ लौं 'ज्ञानसार' परकास ॥
 चार बेद चारों जुग जो लौं, 'ज्ञानसार' यह रहि है तौ लौं ॥

The commentary is full of parallels between Hindu and Muslim concepts and ideas. Some of them may be noted here for the sake of illustration.

Kavindra—

जो लौं नहीं जगदीस की होत कृपा कौलेस ।
 तौ लौं सतगुर ना मिलै ना बिद्या उपदेस ॥

Abdulla Ansari—

الهي ابوجهل از كعبه مي آيد و ابراهيم از بتخانه
 کار از عنایت است باقی بهانه

Kavindra—

दुखमय जग अज्ञ को ज्ञानी कों सुख रूप ।
 भुवन अन्धेरो आन्धरन्ह औरनहें जोत अनूप ॥

Maghribi—

من که در صورت خواباں همه او می بینم
 تو میپندار که من روئے نیکو می بینم
 هر کجا می نگرد دیده درو می نگرد
 هرچه می بینم از و جمله بد و می بینم
 مغربی آن که تو اش می طلبی در خلوت
 من عیاں بر سر هر کوچه و کعبه می بینم

Hadith—

من کان فی هذه عنی فهو فی الاخرت اعمی

Kavindra—

अचरज माया चतुर है मोहत है संसार ।

लखै न आपा आपहैं अंग अंग व्यापनहार ॥

Bedil—

عشق انجمنے است در نظر نیست
 رنگے است بهار حلوة گر نیست
 اسرار جہاں هست دگر نیست
 من میگویم کسے دگر نیست
 این طرفہ کہ از خودم خبر نیست

Kavindra—

बिन आसा बिन चाह को बिन इच्छा बिन काम ।

परमानंद सरूप हौं चिनमय हौं ए राम ॥

Fariduddīn Attār—

من خدايم من خدايم من خدا
 فارغم از کبر و کينه وز هوا

Kavindra—

ज्ञान ज्ञेय तैं नहीं जुदो ज्ञान ज्ञेय इक पोत ।

या तैं और कुछ नहीं ताते भेद न होत ॥

Jāmī

در دیده عیاں تو بودے من غافل
 در سینہ نہاں تو بودے من غافل
 از جملہ جہاں نشان تو می جستم
 خود جملہ جہاں تو بودے من غافل

HISTORICAL NOTES AND QUESTIONS

By D. R. BHANDARKAR

(1)

. Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, who flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D., writes in his *Tantra-vārtika* as follows:

adyatve-py-Ahicchatra-Mathurānivāsi—brāhmaṇinām surā—pānam
..... *bhāry—āpatya—mitra—sahabhojanādy*
*—udīcyānām.*¹

This passage has been translated by the late Sir Ganganatha Jha as follows: "Among the people of modern days we find the Brahmana women of the countries of Ahichchhatra and Mathura to be addicted to drinking;... and they are also used to eating in the same dish with their wives, children and friends."² The passage in question speaks of some customs and practices which were prevalent among the people of North India in the time of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa but which shocked the orthodoxy of the southerners. One of these was that the Brāhmaṇa women could drink liquor and the other was that the members of one and the same family partook together of food from the same dish. Whether the second custom is still prevalent or not it is difficult to say. I am, however, told, rightly or wrongly, that in the Punjab it has not yet completely died out, namely, that of the male and female members of a family taking food together from one and the same *thali* or dish,—a custom which shocks people settling down there from outside. But the custom of Brāhmaṇa women of

¹ (Benar. Sk. Series Ed.), p. 128.

² English Trans. (*Biblio. Ind.*), p. 183.

Ahicchatra or Mathura taking liquor has become extinct, they say. There can, however, be no doubt that in the eighth century A.D. this custom was prevalent and that it was known even to a southerner, that is, Kumāṛila. How could such a custom be in vogue,—a custom of a male not drinking but a female taking liquor? This reminds us of the Kāyastha Prabhus of Maharashtra, whose women, I am told, took wine uptil forty-five years ago at least, not for the enjoyment of the drink so much like their husbands as for the continuance of the happy state *saubhāgya*, unwidowed wifehood. In both the cases this may be due to the influence of Tantra belief and worship. And this custom must have continued in spite of the injunctions of the Smṛtis to the contrary. Thus, the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (V. 256) has: *patilōkaṃ na sā yāti brāhmaṇī yā surāṃ pibet/ih-aiva sā sunī grdhrī sukārī c-ōpajāyate*. “A Brāhmaṇa female, who drinks liquor, shall not go to that celestial region of her husband; but she will be born again as a bitch, a female vulture, or a sow.” *Vasiṣṭha* (XXI. 15) also lays down the following: *pataty-ardhaṃ sarīrasya yasya bhāryā surāṃ pibēt/patit-ārdha-sarīrasya niṣkṛtir-na vidhīyate*. “Half the body of the husband falls if his wife drinks spirituous liquor. No purification is prescribed for the half which has fallen.”³

Students of Indian history and culture need not be told that there are or were many customs prevalent in the different parts of the country, which were in consonance with the Śruti-sāstra but were opposed to Dharma or are still in vogue though contrary to the dictates of both. It is quite possible that the two customs referred to above may be still in existence in North India, observed partially or covertly. And it is desirable in the interest of history that

scholars and ethnologists will carry on investigation in these matters and ascertain where they are still prevalent, and in what form and with what motive.

(2)

Did the Sassanians (Later Persians) conquer and hold any part of India as did the Achemians (Earlier Persians) ?

It is well-known from the inscriptions of Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam (c. 486 B. C.) that the empire of Darius, son of Hystaspes, had been divided into a number of satrapies and that the Indian satrapy comprised the course of the Indus from Kālabāgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind and included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus. The question arises whether the Persians had similarly carved a satrapy in India when the Sassanians were at the height of their glory? As a matter of fact, in the year 1926 Prof. Herzfeld had occasion to examine two inscriptions, one found at Paikali and the other at Persepolis. The results of his decipherment and interpretation were communicated to the various learned societies interested in the subject through H. M. Consul, Shiraz, to the Political Resident in the Persian gulf, Bushire. One such was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal which may be reproduced here as follows :—

“A son of Hurmuz II (A.D. 302-309) and brother of Shapur II (A.D. 369-376), whose name was also Shapur, has the title ‘Sakan-shah’, i.e., the ruler of the whole Śākā Empire, and ‘dabiran dabir’ (something like Head of the Civil Service) of Hind, Śakastan, and Turkistan (which is possibly meant for Tukharistan, i.e., northern Afghanistan)”. The Sassanian empire thus included Turkistan, Śakastan and also Hind. Turkistan (=Tukhā-

ristan) and Śakastan (=Sistan) represent North and South Afghanistan respectively. But what is Hind? Obviously it must be Sind or the Indus Valley. That Darius had a satrapy consisting of a part of India is not supported at all by any evidence, literary, numismatic or epigraphic forthcoming from this country. Nevertheless, we accept it as a historical fact. There can, therefore, be no reasonable ground for doubting that the Sassanian empire also comprised some frontier province of India, such as is mentioned in the Paikali inscription. But fortunately for us we have numismatic evidence in favour of it. "There are found in NW India," says E. J. Rapson, a great authority on Indian numismatics, "coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscrs. in Nāgarī, Sassanian Pahlavī, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians. These have been sometimes attributed to the latter Hūnas, but without sufficient reason. They were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties—as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of the Sassanian Pahlavī—ruling over Sind. For one of these issues which has the name Śrī Vāsudeva only in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portion of its legends in Sassanian Pahlavī, an approximate date is fixed by its very near resemblance to a coinage issued by Khusrū II. Parviz in the 37th year of his reign=627 A.D." There are two types of coins issued by Vāsudeva Chahman, one of which clearly shows that he ruled over Tāka, Jābulistan and Sapādalakṣa and that his capital was Multan. It thus seems that Sind, Kathiawar

and Rajputana were practically under the Sassanian rule, from the third century A.D. to the time of Khusru II. Parviz. This is supported by the fact that Tabari⁶ speaks of Shapur II, having built cities not only in Sagistan (Sistan) but also in Sind, and, above all, that Al Masudi⁷ refers to fire-temples being in existence in Sind. It is hoped that Indian scholars, above all, Parsi scholars, will investigate this subject in full detail.

⁶ S. K. Hodivala's *Parsis of Ancient India*, p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN THE LIGHT OF ĀBHĀSAVĀDA

By K. C. PANDEY

Preliminary

The aesthetic problem in India has been studied not with reference to music, or plastic or pictorial representation but with exclusive reference to the dramatic presentation. The former are, strictly speaking, subsidiaries to the latter. The reason is obvious. No art can present in physical form an aesthetic fact better than can the dramatic, for it appeals to both the aesthetic senses, the eye and the ear, and marshals all other arts, including the poetic, to its aid.

This problem has been studied from two different points of view, namely, of the artist and of the spectator. The study from the former point of view has naturally been confined to the ways and means of the production of the aesthetic object, and the latter has been occupied with the psychological process involved in and with the essential nature of the aesthetic experience consequent on the cognition of such an object.

Psycho-Epistemic Approach to the problem of Aesthetics

- The first philosophical approach to the problem of aesthetics, in the history of Indian aesthetics, is from the psycho-epistemic point of view. It is, therefore, naturally concerned with (i) the nature of the object of the aesthetic experience, (ii) the means of knowing it and (iii) the final judgment and its nature. According to this (i) the aesthetic object is an imitation, (ii) the means of knowledge is inference, (iii) the judgment is an unanalysed flood of conflicting judgments such as cannot be brought

under any one of the judgments of the well-known accepted forms and (iv) the experience is due to the objective cognition of the presented.

The view may be elaborated as follows:

The basic mental state (Sthāyībhāva) known through inference from an imitative presentation of the Real, not cognised as such, is called Rasa for the simple reason that it is an imitation.

The inferential knowledge is aroused by the perception of reasons of three types, imitatively presented on the stage :

(i) Situation with human focus (Vibhāva). It is the cause of the basic mental state.

(ii) Mimetic changes, the perceptable physical changes, voluntary or involuntary, the root cause of which is the same basic mental state (Anubhāva).

(iii) Transient emotions, the invariable concomitants of the basic mental state.

The Necessity of Inference

The content of the Rasa, according to this theory, is the basic mental state. But it is beyond the reach of the imitative art to present it. The imitative art has only two means of presentation :

1. The literary language, which is the primary means of the presentation of the situation. The stage limitations are such as do not allow the scenic presentation to go as far in the representation of the real as can the language.

2. The psycho-physical training to bring about physical changes in which an emotion expresses itself or which invariably accompany it. By this means the effect of the basic mental state, the mimetic changes and the invariable concomitants of it, the transient emotions, are presented. The basic mental state

does not admit of presentation even in words, hence the necessity of inference.

Thus, according to this theory, the basic mental state is known through inference only. But this inference may be called erroneous inasmuch as the basic mental state does not exist in the imitating actor. The aesthetic experience, however, results from it exactly as does fear from a rope mistaken for a serpent.

The nature of the Inferential Judgment

The judgment is reached through inference. Therefore both the place where the thing is inferred and the thing itself figure in the judgment. Further, the judgment tends to be of cognitive nature. Naturally, therefore, both the imitated and the imitating figure in it. In the case of the imitative presentation of love, the form of judgment, therefore, tends to be "that happy being e.g. (Rāma) is this".

Unclassifiability of the Recognitive Cognition

But recognition ordinarily involves the element of certainty. It is certain knowledge such as prevents the recognition of the same in mañy. If one has recognised X in A, the recognition of the same in B is out of the question. For, in the latter case the former recognition will have to be declared invalid. The fact, however, according to the exponents of the imitation theory of art, is, that the imitated is recognised in all successful imitations. The recognition in art, therefore, is devoid of that element of certainty which would prevent the recognition of the imitated in other imitative presentations. It is for this reason not dubious either. It is an unanalysed flood of cognitions of the opposing nature and therefore no question about its nature can be raised. It is a unique experience. The consciousness of the imitated arises from the imitative dramatic presentation

exactly as does that of a horse from a pictorial or the plastic presentation of it.

Contribution of This Theory

1. Indefinability of the experience.
2. Unpresentability of the basic mental state in language.
3. The doctrine of contradiction in experience.

Its Criticism

The imitation and inference theories of art cannot go together if the inference has reference to the basic mental state, that is, if Rasa be described as due to objective consciousness of an imitated basic mental state got through inference from three types of reasons cognised as imitations. The reason may be stated as follows:—

The imitation theory of art is maintained by some of the western aestheticians also. We shall discuss the western point of view in a subsequent paper. Here, therefore, we shall confine our attention to Śaṅkuka's theory only. His imitation theory aroused immediate opposition from Abhinava's teachers in poetics and dramaturgy. Bhaṭṭendurāja and Bhaṭṭa Tauta were probably his younger contemporaries because Abhinava clearly attributes the criticisms to his teachers. It can briefly be stated as follows:—

Critics raised the question of the point of view, viz., from whose point of view is art an imitation? Is it from the point of view (1) of a spectator, (2) or that of an actor, (3) or that of a disinterested analyst who aims at finding out the real nature of dramatic presentation, (4) or is it that it is the view of Bharata himself as expressed somewhere in his *Nāṭya-Śāstra*? Let it be remembered

that Śaṅkuka's imitation theory of art refers to the basic mental state only.

Imitation theory cannot be maintained from the spectator's point of view. Firstly, because consciousness of imitation presupposes direct perception of what is spoken of as an imitation. As, for instance, when a certain person drinks milk in a certain way, and says "Thus. X drinks wine," drinking of milk, which is directly perceived by the spectator, is taken by him to be an imitation of wine drinking of X. Now, in the case of aesthetic object, what is there in the actor, who is considered to be imitating, that is directly perceived and is taken to be an imitation of Sthāyī? His body, various kinds of mimetic changes, physical states that he exhibits and variety of articles of dress that he wears, are the only things which are directly perceptible. But no body will be prepared to accept them as imitation of a basic mental state, because of essential difference in their nature; the former are physical but the latter is purely mental. There is difference in the means of their cognition also. In the one eyes play an important part, but the other is purely the work of mind.

And secondly, because the consciousness of imitation presupposes the knowledge of both the imitated and the imitation. But the basic mental state of the imitated historic person, the spectator cannot be supposed to know, because of his being very far distant in time. As for its knowledge through literature, Śaṅkuka himself holds, as we have already stated, that language can give only a conventional image of basic mental state of ordinary run, but not the ideal one.

The second argument disposes of the second point of view, namely, does the actor imitate? For, just as a spectator requires the knowledge of the imitated

to have the consciousness of imitation, so does the actor to imitate. But just as the one cannot have it, so cannot the other either.

Leaving aside the external factors which are responsible for the consciousness of imitation, if we analyse spectator's consciousness of basic mental state caused by dramatic presentation, we find that consciousness is not of an imitated emotion but that of a real one. For, if we take the inference of the basic mental state as the inference of an effect from the cause, the situation, or as of a cause from the effect, the mimetic changes, or as of a major term from that which is invariably concomitant with it, the inferred mental state would be the real basic mental state and not an imitation of it. It cannot be urged that the situation etc. are real only in the case of the historic imitated, but in that of the hero on the stage, they are only creations of art. Therefore, the basic mental state also, that is inferred from them, would be only that of the artistic imitation of the real. For, then the exponent of the imitation theory will be asked whether the situation etc., as artificially presented on the stage, appear to the spectator to be artificial or real. In the former case, inference of basic mental state will be impossible. In the latter, the consciousness of the inferred being an imitation will be out of question.

Nor can the exponent support his position as follows:—

It is a well-known fact that scorpions come into being in two ways. They are not only born but also spring from cowdung preserved under certain condition. The two, the one born and the other sprung from cowdung, differ in certain respects, so that an expert eye can know the origin from appearance. Thus from

effects, apparently similar, different causes are inferred by experts. Therefore, in the same way, from the artificial situation presented on the stage the inference of an artificial basic mental state is but natural to a man of critical judgment.

For, this is an indefensible position. The possibility of inference of different causes from two effects apparently similar, we do not dispute in those cases where there is real material causal relation, as between scorpion and cowdung. But where there is no causal relation of what is similar to the effect with what simply has similarity with the cause, the inference is not possible. Heap of China roses (Japā-Kusuma), for instance, looks very much like fire; so does the mist like smoke. But does a man, knowing the mist as such, infer heap of China roses from it? The inference, therefore, of basic mental state as an imitation from the perception of artificiality of the situation, etc., is impossible.

(iii) From the point of an impartial analyst of the dramatic presentation also, the basic mental state is not an imitation, but is identical reaction to the situation etc. (anuvyavasāya) due to identification with the historic, through the instrumentality of the situation, etc. as we shall show in the following pages dealing with Abhinava's aesthetic theory.

(iv) As regards the alternative that the imitation theory is based upon the authority of Bharata, we have to say only this, that there is no passage in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, which, taken in proper context, supports the imitation theory. All relevant passages establish the identical reaction (anuvyavasāya) theory. Thus Śaṅkuka's theory that aesthetic object is an imitation is unsound from all points of view.

Criticism of the Imitative Judgment

In respect of the aesthetic judgment consequent upon cognition of the aesthetic object also, his theory is equally unsound. According to him *Rasa* is a judgment. It is an expression of the consciousness which cannot be classed with any one of the well-known different forms of consciousness. But this is an indefensible position. For, if the consciousness of the aesthetic object, as expressed in judgment implies the consciousness of the presence of *Rāma* at the time of presentation only, it is a valid cognition, because it is not contradicted by any subsequent cognition. But if it is subsequently contradicted, then certainly it is wrong knowledge. And even if there is no contradiction, it will in reality be only wrong knowledge. Therefore, the judgment, as stated above, cannot be expression of consciousness of a peculiar type, because there is no such consciousness.

Sāṅkhya Theory of Aesthetics

Another theory, that is summarily treated, is the one that was advanced in the light of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. According to this, there is causal relation between the situation etc. and the basic mental state. The former constitute the sum total of external causes and are responsible for the being of the latter, which is essentially an inner state of pleasure or pain. Obviously the exponents of this theory took the basic mental state to be identical with aesthetic experience. Hence, they have gone not only against the fact of experience, but also against the textual authority of Bharata, according to whom the two¹ are very distinct from each other.

Criticism of the Earlier Theories

We have so far discussed two theories (1) the theory of inference, which is apparently from the point of

¹ *A.Bh.* 278.

view of the Naiyāyika, and (ii) the Śāṅkhya theory of aesthetics. The common question which can be raised about them is whether the basic mental state (Sthāyibhāva), according to them, is cognised in the actor or arises in the spectator. Neither of the two positions is defensible.

For, in the former case this cognition, being in no way different from ordinary worldly cognitions, will naturally arouse ordinary attitudes and responses. And admission of this will mean denial of an independent value to art.

In the latter case, that is, if we admit the rise of basic mental state in the spectator, it will mean the condemnation of all tragic presentation, for, in that case, we will have to admit the rise of the tragic feeling of sorrow in the spectator.

In fact subjective rise of a basic mental state from the art presentation is not possible.

The reason may be stated as follows:--

Suppose we are attempting psycho-epistemically to account for the rise of Rāti (love) from the presentation of Rāma and Sītā on the stage. How can love arise in the spectator? For, Sītā has not the same value to him as she had to Rāma. The spectator does not look upon Sītā as an object of love. In fact, the historical and religious associations, which surrounded the personality of Sītā, will prevent the rise of such feeling from such a presentation.

New Technique

The common criticism of the above theories is that even if the psycho-philosophical objections be waved, no man, who has had the aesthetic experience, will agree that they give a true picture of the experience. Aesthetic presentation is never the cause of painful feeling. Tragedies also enliven. It does not arouse those responses

which the real does. This needs explanation. Hence the adoption of a new technique is not applicable to ordinary worldly experience.

It may be stated as follows:

This new technique was adopted by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. According to him, as according to all his predecessors in the field of aesthetics, the aesthetic experience is due to objective cognition of the presented. Unlike, however, his predecessors, he maintains, and rightly too, that both, the cognising self and the cognised object, are free from all limitations that give individuality. And the resultant subjective state, is, according to him, a state of perfect rest of the self within itself because of the predominance of the quality of Sattva and total relegation into the background of the qualities of Rajas and Tamas. Hence that state is characterised by absence of all conscious physical, psychological and volitional activities and so freedom from all attachment to and aversion of all that can enter into consciousness.

The reason is obvious: All volitional and so conscious psychophysical activities are due to the predominance of Rajas. Similarly, all lack of consciousness is due to Tamas. All knowledge, however, and consequent state of rest of the self,² in which happiness consists, is due to Sattva. The Rajas and Tamas being overwhelmed by Sattva and so volitional, psychological and conscious physical activities being out of question³ and the state of ignorance being impossible, there arises a state of the self as described above.

His Basic Assumptions

He maintains that the language has got three powers :

² *J.P.V.* Vol. I, 255, 257.

³ *Bh.G.* XIV, 5-9.

1. *Abhidhā*, that is, the power to arouse the conventional image, associated with a word, in the mind of the hearer.

2. *Bhāvakatva*, the power which frees the presented, the aesthetic object, from all relations in which a similar object in ordinary life stands, and so universalises it.

3. *Bhōjakatva*, the power which throws the two qualities of the percipient of the aesthetic object, namely, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, into the background and brings the *Sattva* to the forefront.

The quality of *Sattva* is thus brought into pre-dominance, according to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, by the last of the said powers technically called *Bhōjakatva*. The last two powers he attributes to the poetic language in addition to the generally accepted *Abhidhā*, the power of giving rise to the conventional image. The second of the said powers, namely *Bhāvakatva*, also co-operates with the last in bringing about this state, inasmuch as it frees the presented from all limitations and so universalises it. Thus the *Rajas* does not work because the presented is free from all limitations and is universalised. The presented is thus incapable of giving rise to any desire to gain or shun it. And desire being the motive force of all psycho-physical activities the latter cannot take place. *Rajas* is thus relegated into background. As for the *Tamas*, it can be as little effective at the time when the *Sattva* is working, as darkness can be in the presence of light. Hence there arises a state of simple awareness or consciousness of the presented which is akin to the mystic experience of the Brahman in so far as it is a conscious state, but free from all volitional, psychological and physical activities. It is, however, different from the mystic experience of the Brahman, because it is a limited experience, though without the consciousness of limitation at the time when it takes

place. It cannot be classed with the ordinary experiences got through perception or remembrance, etc., because it is not a determinate cognition, inasmuch as there is no determinative activity of carving an image out of the presented. Nor is it indeterminate because there is the subsequent recollection of this experience.

Thus according to this school the aesthetic experience is the experience of the universalised basic mental state (Sthāyībhāva) in the state of *perfect Bliss* due to the predominance of Sattva.

Its Contribution

The problem aroused by the imitation-inference theory was "if the basic mental state is known objectively as associated with the imitated individual on the stage, why is there no rise of the natural attitudes and responses due to the objective cognition?" This new theory explains the non-rise by presenting the cognising subject above the response level, inasmuch as the power to respond, the Rajas, is perfectly in operative, because of the universalisation of the presentation by the assumed particular power of the poetic language called *Bhāvakatva*. Response is due to the cognition of the particular, that being absent, it does not arise. Hence there arises the state of the subject with the predominance of Sattva in which the *Bliss* consists.

The constituents of the experience therefore, according to this theory, are the universalised subject and the universalised object, the basic mental state (Sthāyībhāva).

Its Criticism

1. How are the subject and the object related?
2. How is the object, the basic mental state, dissociated from the situation, cognised?

(To be continued)

SIR JOHN SHORE, A FRIEND OF THE POOR

By S. N. SEN

Kanharadāsa, a Brahman youth of Gwalior came to Benares in the eighties of the eighteenth century, to complete his education. He had brought some money with him to defray his expenses and when his slender funds were exhausted, earned an easy living, as many of his fellow students in like circumstances doubtless did, by reciting the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* to the devout people of the holy city. Lodging probably offered no serious difficulty to a Brahman seeker of learning in those charitable days. When the first of the following letters was penned Kanharadāsa used to lodge at the Daranagar residence of Mānakumārī in the neighbourhood of Vṛddhakāleśwara temple.¹ Mānakumārī seems to have been a lady of affluence as she was the *guru* of Raja Chait Singh's mother.² Kanharadāsa probably joined the Sanskrit Pāṭhasālā founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1792,³ for reference is made to the professors in charge of the Pāṭhasālā in the second letter. The course of studies that he had chosen for his own was a lengthy one. The hardworking Brahman was already 26 and had yet five years to complete his favourite studies. He

¹ On Vṛddhakāleśwara temple see Sheering—*Sacred City of the Hindus* and Nevill, *Gazetteer of the Benares District*. The temple lies just to the north of Bisheshwarganj, close by the old tank known as 'Har Tiratha' (Haratīrtha) and is reported to be one of the oldest Hindu edifices in Benares.

² I.e. widow of Raja Balavanta Sinha. Her name is not known, but she is probably the same lady whom R. N. Rattray referred to in his letter dated 23 March 1813 to John Mockton (I.R.D. *Foreign Misc.* Series No. 76.)

³ On this point see my article in the *Journal of G. N. Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I Pt. 3.

had not started his scholastic career late. Seven diligent years, three at his native city and four at a now-forgotten seat of learning, Sindhudā, had he devoted to the cultivation of his mind before he turned his ambitious steps towards the farfamed seminaries at the confluence of Varuṇā and Asī. There he had spent another nine years of studious labour and if things had gone well he might have commenced the struggle for worldly existence armed with a Benares Degree at the youthful age of thirty one! Happily the Universities of to-day are less exacting and release their alumni much earlier! At twenty six an unforeseen misfortune befell our student. His arduous labours had evidently told upon his health and half an hour's writing and an hour's reading would cause severe headache and the weary eyes of the unhappy patient would start profusely streaming. Strive as he might he could not even glance through the learned times he had so assiduously perused. Such medical remedies as his means permitted proved of little avail. When at the tether's end he sought inspiration from his favourite *Śāstras* and concluded that to the ruler of the land alone could he turn for succour in his distress, for had not Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself observed in the second half of the tenth section of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* that it is the supreme duty of the King to relieve the distressed. Charity finds its own reward in untarnished fame in this world and eternal bliss in the next. Witness the glorious instances of Hariścandra, Rantideva, Mudgala, Śibi, Bali and the charitable pigeon. To Kanharadāsa Sir John Shore was a "swarāj" a king in his own right, a *bhūpa* a ruler of the realm and the Governor-General was above all the only refuge of the learned (*viduṣāmekamāśrayam*). He, therefore, addressed two letters to Sir John Shore imploring his assistance in his afflictions. If the Governor-General condescended to recommend the poor suppli-

cant to a European officer at Benares the latter would probably provide for his food and clothing as well as for the treatment of his eyes. If his ailments were cured he proposed to complete his studies in five years and wherever he might subsequently go his blessings would for ever attend the Governor-General whose eulogies he would everywhere sing. If perchance his sight did not improve he would spend his remaining years at Benares ever praying for the well-being of his benefactor. Although he was not in any way acquainted with Sir John the fame of his sympathy for the indigent induced him to present his case for the Governor-General's consideration.

The letters bear no date but from an entry in English at the end it appears that the first was received on the 8th November 1796 (probably) at the resident's office at Benares and it reached the headquarters a week later. This conjecture corroborated by the second letter, for *Kārtikasudi aṣṭamī* corresponds to the 8th November. The second letter arrives at Calcutta on the 30th May of the next year. Kanharadāsa gratefully acknowledges Sir John's kindness and refers to his visit to Benares on his way to Lucknow in January 1797 (*Paṇṣamāsasya sap-tamyām guruvāsare*). The third and the last of the series addressed to the members of the Supreme Council (received on the 22nd May 1798) after Sir John Shore had relinquished office and sailed for home (12th March 1798) also proves that the poor Brahman's prayer did not go unheeded. The paper on which it was written testifies to the improvement in the writer's finances for unlike the previous epistles it is liberally bespangled with tiny diamonds in gold. The gratitude of the Brahman had meanwhile elevated Shore to the rank and status of an emperor and he tells the Councillors that the Governor-General had made some provision for him at Benares

wherefrom he had derived considerable benefit. Subsequently, great favours were conferred on him by the sovereign of Bundelkhand who also entrusted him with some presents for Sir John Shore. He, however, learnt that Sir John had left for home and requested the Councillors to direct him as to whom and where the presents should be delivered.

Few, if any, student, however poor, would to-day dream of bringing his woes to the notice of so exalted a personage as the Governor-General. But in the early days of the British empire in India the Governor-Generals did not rule in splendid seclusion. The European community even in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay was very small and tradition demanded that the first executive officer in the land should not be entirely indifferent to the sorrows and joys of the Indian notables. Thus, when a marriage was celebrated in an aristocratic family of Calcutta or an heir was born to a nobleman of Murshidabad the Governor-General was expected to send a letter of congratulations and the customary *kehelat*. Even an opulent banker of Benares was consoled in his bereavement with a sympathetic letter and a robe of honour from the Governor-General.⁴ Benares was in those days far off from Calcutta but the highest officials were not less accessible to the poorest citizens than they are to-day. The civil servants of the East India Company had perforced to spend their best years in India and during their long sojourn they learnt to respect the customs and traditions of the country. It is to be noted that not one of the three letters bearing the name of Kanharadāsa was accompanied by an English translation. We have a Persian

See Calendar of Persian Correspondence Vol. VII No. 1214.

version of the first but the other two were unprovided with any such key. Sir John Shore was well-versed in the ancient lores of the east. He was no stranger to the charms of Persian poetry or the sublime speculations of Hindu philosophy. Once he actually contemplated an English translation of the *Yoga-Vāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* and his correspondence bears ample testimony to his profound knowledge of the classics.⁵ It was in recognition of his uncommon erudition that the Governor-General had been elected to succeed Sir William Jones as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir John Shore could very well be expected to appreciate the five laudatory verses with which Kanharadāsa prefaced his first letter and when the number of the verses was increased to nine in the second, the ardent student of oriental styles was probably satisfied as to his correspondent's merit and worth. The student paid no formal compliment to his noble benefactor when he addressed Sir John Shore as *vidvajjana-kamalakula-prakāśanamārtandamūrti*.

Did Kanharadāsa appeal to his natural liege lord in the first instance? We do not know. Daulat Rao Sindhia was a powerful prince but in November 1796 he was away from his capital. The future of the Maratha empire and the ruling house of Poona was then hanging in the balance and the heir of Mahadaji Sindhia could not afford to remain an indifferent spectator. In his own interest he had to play an important part in the making and unmaking of governments and then followed in quick succession a dispute for the Holkar's *musnad* and the rebellion of the Bais. From 1796 to 1798 Daulat Rao was too occupied with the distracting prob-

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography* Vol. XVIII and *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*. Vol. I.

lems of the Maratha state to attend to the needs of an ailing student at Benares. It is extremely doubtful whether Kanharadāsa's letter, if one was ever addressed, could reach the ruler of Gwalior in far off Deccan.

Who was the King of Bundelkhand who befriended the indigent Brahman? There were more than a dozen Bundela principalities, big and small. Some of them acknowledged the political suzerainty of the Sindhia, others were directly under the Peshwa's hegemony. It may not be profitable at this distance of time to speculate about the identity of the prince whose munificence led the grateful scholar to indulge in undue exaggeration, that identified a part with the whole. But one may perhaps be permitted to hazard a guess. Hirde Shah, the founder of the ruling house of Panna, bore the title of Raja of Bundelkhand and Dhokul Singh, his descendant, might by right of inheritance claim that dignity. He was, however, completely under the domination of Ali Bahadur, Nawab of Banda, and representative of the Poona government in Bundelkhand. Chhatrasal Bundela professed to treat Baji Rao I as one of his sons and had formally bequeathed one third of his territories to the Brahman general. Ali Bahadur, as the Peshwa's grandson, might be appropriately styled as *Bundalekhaṇḍākhyā-rāṣṭrādhipā*. This hypothesis further gains in strength if Sinhuḍā of the first letter is identified with Singhora, a village in the Panna state. That it was once a place of some importance cannot be gainsaid, for, no less than five unidentified colossi have been discovered here.⁶ Ali Bahadur, an heir of Brahman tradition, a representative of a Brahman state might have befriended a Brahman student who once prosecuted his studies at Singhora.

⁶ Luard—*Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VIA.

We do not know whether Kanharadāsa employed a skilled scribe to write his petition to so high a personage as the Governor-General. The letters form good specimens of Devanagari calligraphy and seem to be in the same hand. The writing is neat and legible but the text is not entirely free from slips of pen. One peculiar use of a purely Sanskrit word deserves particular notice specially as the writer happened to be a genuine student of Sanskrit. Kanharadāsa calls his letter an *ārjavapatra*, but *ārjava* used in its original sense is hardly appropriate. On the other hand if it is treated as a Sanskritised form of a common Persian word, *araj*, it fully accords with the real character of the letters. Kanharadāsa exercises the time honoured prerogative of a Brahman when he offers his benedictions to the Governor-General and his councillors irrespective of their age, rank and status.

I

श्रीः

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनि-मंडलमंडन-विद्वज्जन-मं[ड]ली-विराजमान-सर्वजन-हृदयाह्ला-
दक-प्रख्यापित-कीर्ति-तरंगिणी-धवलीकृताशेष-दिगंतरालेषु
श्रीमत्सदाचार-विविधशास्त्र-विचार-विनिर्जित-परमोदार-विद्वज्जन-गोष्ठ्यलंकारेषु परम-
सद्बुद्धि-विस्तार-विस्तारितालौकिक-पराक्रमाक्रामितानेक-
वलवद्धराधीश-मौलि-लसन्मुकुट-[म]णि-विस्फुरत्कांति-कनकमय-कोश-दानातिशय-महोदार-
शुभ-गुण-नाणगार-धर्म-भारेषु प्रबलतर-हय-गज-रथ-
पदप्रति-प्रताप-विध्वंसित-प्रचंडाकांड-प्रोद्गाराति-चय-चमू-लब्ध-यश-आधारेषु निखिल-
मुख-समाज-विराजमानामात्याद्युपहारीकृत-कनकमय-
नागाश्व-स्निविकादि-शुभायित-द्वारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्री-सर्जन-सोर-साहबेषु कंहरदासस्या-
शिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम् शमस्त्यत्र⁷ दयासिंधो श्रीम-
तं तदहंनिशं आशासे स्वःसरित-पाथो-वगाहादिक्क्षणेऽहम्⁸ १ प्रजा-संरक्षणे दक्षं विदुषा-
मेकमाश्रयं नयज्ञं निर्जराः सर्वे रक्षंतु त्वां समर्चिताः २

⁷ Read 'शमस्त्यत्र'⁸ This and the following verses are in the *anustubh* metre.

याभूद्वाण-परंपरा नरपति-श्रीविक्रमाकर्त्तृभृत्यस्यावध्यवनी-पुरंदर⁹ वयं कुत्रापि नैतादृशीं
 नीतिं शृश्रुम यादृशी निरुपमा निर्व्याजि-निर्लोभतारुपा
 स्वस्ववलोकयतेखिल-अनानंदक-कंदः प्रभो ३ ¹⁰प्रसरदतुल-कीर्तिः कामना- कामकुंभः
 द्विषदिभ-भूल-सिंहः सर्जन-सोरभूपः क्षिति-परिवृट्-चू-
 डा-रत्न-नीराजितांघ्रिगुणि-नयन-चकोरानंदधु-भलौ-समानः ४ ¹¹जयत् जयिजनानाम्-
 ग्रणीरग्रणीषु प्रबल-पर-कुकूलः कीर-तुंडाभ-पाणिः परम-निय-
 ति-पूर्णः प्रीणित-प्रार्थि-युगः सकल-महिधराणां मौलिमालायमानः ५ अथ स्वोदंतो मया
 साक्षादेव श्रीमति निवेद्यते तद्यथा निवेशनमस्माकं गुवालि-
 वराख्ये नगरे अभिधानं च कन्हारदास इति वयश्च षड्विंशति-वार्षिकं श्रीवाराणस्यां
 दारानगरे वृद्धकालेश्वर-संनिधौ राजश्चेतसिंह-मातुः¹² सद्गुरुः (sic)
 श्रीमानकु-

आरीति तस्मा गृह इदानीं निवसाभि वर्षत्रयं स्व-सदने चतुरः संवत्सरान् सिंहुडाख्ये
 नगरे नववर्षाणि च वाराणस्यां महताप्रयासेनाहृदिवं शास्त्रमधीत्य
 स्थितमिदानीं नयनयोः कश्चिद्व्याधिराविरासीत् यद्वाशादग्रेधीतमपि शास्त्रमवलोकितुं
 न शक्नोम्यग्रेचाध्येतुं घटिकाद्वै लेखने घटिमात्रं च
 पठन्ने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वेदनोत्पद्यते यथासामर्थ्यं चिकित्सा मग्रा
 कारिता सांप्रतं तु चिकित्सां कारयितुं न शक्नुमोऽकिंचनत्वात् ततो
 महती चिंता जायते यदग्रे मम किं भविष्यति (sic) कोवा मां पालयिष्यतीति
 शास्त्रे इत्थमुपलभ्यते यत्पंडितं दीनं दुःखिनं च राजा पालयतीति उक्तं
 च श्रीमद्भाग-

वते एष राज्ञां परो धर्मो ह्यात्तनामात्तिनिग्रह इति एतद्धर्मवतां फलं तु दशम-स्कंधे
 उत्तरार्द्धे भगवता कृष्णेन स्वयमुक्तं हरिश्चन्द्रो¹³ रंतिदेव¹⁴
 उच्छवतिः¹⁵ 16 शिविर्बलिः¹⁷

⁹ Should read 'पुरंदर'. The visarga has evidently been omitted for the sake of metre.

¹⁰ The metre is *Śardūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ This as well as the next verse is in *mālini*.

¹² A case of सापेक्षत्वेऽपि गमकत्वात् समासः

¹³ *Rāmāyaṇa* I, *Mahābhārata* II, 12; III, 77, *Bhāgavata*. IX, 7, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* VII, 9.

¹⁴ *Bhāgavata* IX, 21. The story occurs in a slightly different form in the *Nakulākhyānam* (*Mahābhārata* XIV, 90).

¹⁵ *Mahābhārata* XIV, 92. 6.

¹⁶ *Śibi-caritaṃ*—*Mahābhārata* III, 197. and *Śyena-kapottiya* *Mahābhārata* III, 130-131.

¹⁷ *Bhāgavata* VII, 22; and *Mahābhārata* II, 47; III, 272.

व्याघ्रः¹⁸ कपोतो बहवो ह्यध्रुवेण ध्रुवं गता इति अस्येयं व्याख्या चक्रवर्ती हरिश्चंद्रो-
 र्थिनोर्थ-संपादनाय भार्यात्मजादि-सर्वं विक्रीय स्वयं चांडाल-दासतां
 प्राप्तोप्यनिविण्णः सहायोध्यावासिभिर्जनैः स्वर्गं गतः राजारंतिदेवः सङ्कुटुंबोष्टचत्वारिंश-
 दहान्यलब्धोदकोपि कथंचिल्लब्धान्नोदकाद्यर्थिभ्यो दत्त्वा ब्र-
 ह्मलोकं गतः उच्छ्वस्तिर्मुदगलः षण्मासं सीदत्कुटुंबोप्यातिथ्यदानेन ब्रह्मलोकं गतः
 उशीनरदेशाधिपतिः शिविः शरणागत-कपोत-रक्षणाय स्वमांसं ह्येनाय
 दत्त्वा दिवं गतः स्वर्गमभिव्याप्य सार्वभौमो बलिः सर्वस्वं ब्राह्मणवेषधारिणे हरये
 दत्त्वा तमेवात्मसाच्चकार कपोतश्चातिथये व्याधाय कपोत्या सहात्म-मांसं
 दत्त्वा विमानेन दिवं गतः एवमन्ये च बहवोऽध्रुवेण शरीरेण ध्रुवं लोकं गता इत्यलं
 कितु तादृशः पृथ्वी-पालक इदानीं दुर्लभतरो यो दीनानाथेषु दयां
 कुर्यात् श्रीमतात्वत्रत्य-जनता-महाजन-पंडित-दीन-दुःखि-प्रभृतिः सर्वापि संतोषिता सती
 प्रतिवीथि प्रतिद्वारं प्रतिगृहं स्वर्ग-तरंगिणी-रोषसि च श्रैमतं यशो
 गायति यत्स्वराट् श्रीसर्जन-सोर-साहबः कंपनीगृहे साक्षाद्भूमौ तिष्ठरो दाता शरण्यश्च
 अतो महाराज वाराणस्यां कञ्चित्साहबं प्रतीत्थं लिखितुमर्हथ यन्मम भोजना-
 च्छादनयोः परामर्शं कुर्यात् नेत्रयोश्च चिकित्सां कारयेत्
 ततो निवृत्ते नेत्ररोगे पंचसंवत्सरं¹⁹ (sic) शास्त्रं परिसमाप्य यत्र यत्र गमिष्यामि
 तत्र तत्र श्रीम-
 ते आशिषः प्रयोक्ष्यामि कीर्तिं च गास्यामि अथ कदाचिन्नरोग-निवृत्तिस्तर्हि यावज्जीवं काश्यां
 निवसन् श्रीमतः शुभं चिन्तयिष्यामि यद्यपि श्रीमन्महाराज
 केनोपि (sic) द्वारेण श्रीमता सहास्माकं परिचितीर्नास्ति तथापि श्रैमतीं दीनदयालुतां
 श्रुत्वा जंबवपत्रं लिखितं यद्भवान्सर्वथास्मान् दयिष्यत इत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पोऽस्ति यशो (sic)
 श्रीमन्महाराज विपुलं तव विद्यते सकलं लेखितुं²⁰ (Sic) कोहि शक्नुयादुदरं भरिः
 Benares 8th November 1796 (O.R. 15th Nov. 1796
 No. 456.)

II

श्रीः

- * स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमण्डलमण्डनविहितदिग्विजयवादीन्द्रवृन्दमर्दनविद्वज्जनकमल-
 कुलप्रकाशनमातृण्डमूर्तिषु सदा-
 चाराचरणपरिलब्धगरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठावशीकृतसज्जनगणगीयमानयशश्चन्द्रकरधवलीकृतजगत्-
 त्रितयेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीस्वराट् (sic) सर्जन-

¹⁸ Vyādhakapotākhyānam (Mahābhārata—XII, 243-248).

¹⁹ Read 'संवत्सरमध्ये'

²⁰ Read 'लिखितुं'

सोरसाहवेषु कंन्ह्रदासस्याशिषां राशयः समुल्लसन्तुतराम् प्रत्यथिक्षितिपालबालवनिता-
सीमन्तसिन्दूरिकालुष्टाकप्रकटप्रता-

पतपनप्रोद्भासिताशामुखः सर्वाङ्गै रूचिरश्चिराय जयतात्
सद्भूपचूडामणिः शीलीदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयः श्रीसर्जनः सोरराट् १²¹
अतलितगुणराशिख्यातनामप्रवहः प्रतिदिवसवित्तीर्णप्रीणितप्राणिपूगः
विशदतरयशोब्जाभीशुभिर्धौ तविश्वो नयगुणजितवे-
णु²² वेंणुगीतावदातः²³ २ उदन्तस्तु महाराज यन्मयार्जवपत्रिका प्रेषिता
कार्तिकमुदि अष्टम्यां श्रीमदन्तिके²⁴ १ तां विलोक्य प्रजानाथश्री-
मता करुणावता श्रीकाश्यां प्रेषितं पत्रं मद्भृत्तिज्ञप्तिहेतवे २ काशीस्थाः
पण्डिताः श्रीमत्पाठशालाधिकारिणः तेषां समीपे निखिलामद्भु-
त्ति विदिताभवत् ३ पौषमासस्य सप्तम्यां शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे अनन्तरं
भवान् काशीमलंकर्तुमुपागतः ४ तस्मिन्नवसरे मेभूदत्युत्कण्ठा-
भिनन्दने आशीर्भिः किन्तु भवतस्स्वरासीत्पश्चिमांदिशं ५ गन्तुन्ततो-
मयालोचि पुनरागमने सति दर्शनार्थं गमिष्यामीत्येतन्नागमनं ह्य-
भूत् ६ श्रीकाश्यां भवतो राजन्नत आर्जववेदिका पत्रिका लिख्यते भूयस्तां
भवाञ्छ्रोतुमर्हति ७ यदाहं वाराणस्यामागतो गुवाल-
यरात्तदा व्ययार्थं किञ्चिद्द्रव्यमासीत्तद्वशादधीत्य स्थितः यदा तद्द्रव्यं
समाप्तं तदा श्रीभागवतवाचनेनात्मवृत्ति कुर्वन्नासं
यत्प्रभृति नेत्रयोर्व्याधिराविरासीत्तदादि किमपि कर्तुं न शक्नोमि
घटिमात्रं पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वेद-
नोत्पद्यत एतदन्नत्याः पण्डिताः नगरस्थलोकाश्च सर्वं जानति यत्प्रभृति
श्रीमता महाराजेन मत्प्रवृत्तिः शोधिता तत्प्रभृति
बह्वीः शुभाशिषः श्रीमते प्रयुञ्जान आशासे यत्प्रेष्यपरंपराद्वारा
मच्छोधनं भवद्भिः कारितं तद्वो युक्ततरमेव उक्तंच श्रीमद्भा-
गवते एतावान् हि प्रभोरर्थो यद्दीन-परिपालनमित्यतो महाराज
कंपनीगृहे साक्षाद्भर्ममूर्तिधरं सार्वभौमं भवन्तमिदमेव या-
चे यच्छ्रीमुखात्किञ्चिन्मदर्थमत्रत्यान्प्रत्याज्ञप्यतां यल्लब्धवालब्धा भोजं
भोजममरधुन्यवगाहनपूर्वकं काश्यां निव-

सन् श्रीमते शुभाशिषः प्रयुञ्जानः स्थास्यामीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु

30th May 1797 (O.R. 13th May 1797, No. 296).

²¹ The metre is *Sārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

²² The reference is evidently to the mythic King, Veṇa (also spelt as 'Veṇu' Vide, *Medini*), father of Pṛthu. (*Mahābhārata* VII, 69; XII, 28; *Bhāgavata* IV, 13; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I; 23.)

²³ The metre is *mālīni*.

²⁴ This and the next six verses are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre.

III

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमंडलमंडनप्रख्यापितकीर्तितरंगिणी धवलीकु-
 ताशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितपर-
 मोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठघलंकारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु कं-
 रदासस्याशिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम स्वोदन्तो मया निवेद्यते तद्यथानि-
 वेशनमस्माकं गुवालियराख्ये नगरेऽभिधानं च कंहरदास इति श्रीवाराण-
 स्यां दारानगर इदानीं निवसामि महताप्रयासेनाहर्दिवं शास्त्रमधीत्यस्थितं
 पुनरेकं मम दुःखमुपस्थितं यद्वशान्महती चितोत्पन्ना तत इदं विचिन्तितं
 यत्स्वदुःखं प्रजानाथे निवेदनीयमिति स्वदुःखं तन्निवेदनमूलभू-
 तं शास्त्रं च लिखित्वा सम्राजः श्रीशोरसाहबस्य सविधे कलकत्ताख्यरा-
 जधान्यां प्रेषितमासीत् तच्छ्रुत्वा ततस्तेन सार्वभौमेन मदर्थं काश्यां
 किञ्चिद्वदन्नाप्तं तेन मम भव्यं जातं इतः परं बुद्धिलखंडाख्यराष्ट्राधी-
 शस्य चेदानीं मदुपरि महाननुग्रहोस्ति स्वराट् (Sic) श्रीशोरसाहबकृते-
 राष्ट्रात्तेन किञ्चित्पारितोषिकं प्रेषितमस्ति तन्मत्सविधेस्ति इ-
 दानीं श्रूयते ते तु स्वदेशं प्रस्थिता इत्यत आर्जवपत्रं संदिग्धार्थनि-
 र्णयसभापरपर्यायकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु प्रेषितमस्ति ते यदाज्ञापये-
 युस्तद्विदधामि यदाज्ञापयेयुस्तर्हि तत्रैव प्रेषयामि यद्वा वारा-
 णस्यामेव कस्यचित्साहबस्य निकटे नयामि सम्राजः श्रीशोरसा-
 हबस्यानुकंपातो मम कल्याणमासीदहमप्यहर्निशं तदीयं भव्य
 माशासे इदानीं श्रीमद्भिर्गदाज्ञाप्यते तत्करवाणीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पे

Endorsement on the letter—1798/. Recd. 22 May/. For Translation/(sd.) J. Stracey/ Sub-secy/ In another hand came by dawkh/ without any letter/ accomp. therefore/ not to be translated:

OR 22 May 1796 No. 320).

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST DOCUMENT

Prosperity

Hail ! May the multitudinous blessings of Kanhara-
 dāsa shed brilliant lustre on the five times blessed
 Sir John Shore, who is prosperous, is an ornament
 to the whole orb of the earth, is shining among the
 society of learned men, is the gladdener of the hearts
 of all people and who by the river of his established re-
 putation has whitened all the limitless horizons; who is
 an embellishment to the society of the most distinguished

scholars whom he has overcome by pleasant and polite behaviour and in discourses on diverse sciences;²⁵ who is generous to the extent of making excessive charities from his treasury abounding in gold and radiant with the brilliant gems of the diadems (wrested) from the heads of numerous mighty kings overpowered by his uncommon prowess, augmented (as it is) by the magnitude of his supremely profound wisdom; who is the abode of a host of virtues and is the upholder of religion; who is the receptacle of the glory derived from the destruction of the hosts of his numerous terrible enemies who suddenly waxed powerful by the valour of his more formidable cavalry, elephantry, chariots and infantry; whose gateways have been rendered auspicious by the golden (images of) elephants, horses and palanquins presented to him by the ministers and other officials who adorn the highest societies in the world.

Verses

Peace attend Your Excellency—Oh! Ocean of compassion, that is what I pray for night and day (and even) while taking my ablution in the waters of the Celestial Stream (1). May all the gods well-worshipped (as they are by me) protect you who are an expert in the governance of people, who are the only refugee of the learned and who are a master of statesmanship (2). (Among) the succession of Kings who became the overlords of this earth from the time of King Vikramārka down to the present day, in no instance have we heard of such a matchless maxim of administration, (a maxim) synonymous

²⁵ This is no empty compliment. Sir John Shore succeeded Sir William Jones as the president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 22 May 1794 and well might he be called a *vidvājjanagosthyalan-kāra*. (See *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth* Vol. I.) For his literary contributions to the Society see *Asiatic Researches* Vol. II, 307-22, 283-7, Vol. IV, 331-350.

with artless freedom from avarice, as is observed in your case, O Master, the only source (lit. bulb) of the delight of the entire mankind! (3). Victory to Sir John Shore, the monarch whose unparalleled fame is (ever) expanding; who is the wish-yielding vessel which satisfies all desires; who is the lion to the elephant-herd that his enemies are; around whose feet the crest-jewels of the (subject) chiefs are waved in adoration; who is equal to the moon which delights the Cakora-like eyes of the meritorious (4); who is the foremost among the leading victors; who is a fire for (the cremation of) his formidable foes; whose palms have the colour of the parrot's beak ²⁶; who is marked for a sublime destiny; (and) by whom all suitors are satisfied and who is like a wreath on the heads of all the rulers of the earth (5).

I beg now to submit my case personally to Your Excellency. This is as follows:—

The city called Gwallior is my home, Kanharadāsa my name, and twenty-six years my age. (There dwells near (the temple of) Vṛddhakāleśwara in Daranagara in the Prosperous Benares the illustrious Mānakumārī, the holy preceptress of Raja Chait Singha's mother. At present I am lodging in her house. Three years did I pass in my own place, four in the town of Simhuḍā and nine in Benares studying each day with great assiduity the religious texts. Lately my eyes have been affected by some malady, in consequence whereof, I am unable to glance over the texts studied before or to make further studies. After (even) half an hour's writing and an hour's reading water starts streaming out of my eyes and severe pain is caused in the head. I got myself medically treated, according to my means, but owing to

²⁶ I.e., because of their having been tinged with the blood of the enemies slain by him.

indigence I cannot now continue (further) treatment. Hence, grave anxieties have arisen in me as to what will happen to me and who will sustain me. It is gathered from the sacred texts that it is the King who maintains the learned, the destitute and the distressed. Thus is written in the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*: "The supreme duty of the King is to relieve the misery of the distressed." The recompense accruing to the observers of this duty has been (thus) described by Lord 'Kṛṣṇa himself in the last part of the tenth section.

Many like Hariścandra, Rantideva, Uñchavṛtti (the gleaner), Śibi, Bali, the fowler and the pigeon attained the eternal state by (sacrificing) the ephemeral (body). Illucidation of the above is this:

The paramount monarch, Hariścandra, reached heaven with the entire population of Ayodhyā because, for the satisfaction of a suitor's need he sold away his wife and offspring and all his belongings and remained unmoved even when reduced to the position of a Caṇḍāla's slave.

King Rantideva attained to the Brahmaloka (Brahma's heaven) because he had given away to a beggar whatever food and drink he had with great exertions been able to find although he and his family had been without (even a drink of) water for forty-eight days.

Mudgala, who lived on gleanings entered the Celestial World for having performed the rites of hospitality although his family had been living under great privation for six months (continuously).

Śibi, King of the Uśīnara country, departed to heaven for having given his own flesh to the hawk with a view to saving (the life of) a pigeon who had taken refuge under him.

After having extended his conquest to the Celestial World, the Paramount King, Bali, presented every thing he had to Hari masquerading as a Brāhmaṇa and (thereby) made that god his own.

The cock-pigeon also went with his hen to heaven in a celestial car for having offered his own flesh to the hunter who was his guest. Many people likewise attained the world of the immortals by the sacrifice of the mortal body. But no more. Such rulers are, as are inclined to take pity on the poor and the helpless, however very rare these days. The people of this place, the great and the learned as well as the poor and the distressed who have been rendered happy by you are ever reciting the fame of Your Excellency in every thoroughfare, at every door and in every house and even on the banks of the celestial river thus:--The paramount ruler, Sir John Shore, who is the God of Justice incarnate in the Company's abode, is munificent and an afforder of protection. Therefore, esteemed ruler, you ought to write to some European (Officer) in Benares so that he may make provision for my food and raiment and arrange for the treatment of my eyes. If my eyes are cured I shall complete (my studies of) the sacred texts in five years and wherever I may go I shall continue to send my blessings to Your Excellency and sing your eulogies. If per chance, the ailments are not cured I shall spend all my life at Kāśī and ever meditate on Your Excellency's welfare. Although, O illustrious ruler, I do not happen to be acquainted with Your Excellency in any way whatsoever, yet, being apprised of Your Excellency's generous disposition towards the indigent I am addressing this humble petition (with the hope) that you may show kindness (to me) in all manners. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

Wide-spread indeed, O Great ruler, is your fame.
Who is the mortal²⁷ who can recount²⁸ it in full?

TRANSLATION OF THE SECOND DOCUMENT

Prosperity.

Hail! May the abundant blessings of Kanharadāsa find excessive delight in the five times blessed Sir John Shore, the absolute Sovereign, who is prosperous and is an ornament to the whole of terrestrial globe; who has destroyed a multitude of hostile chiefs in course of his worthily achieved world-conquest; who is the very image of the sun who has caused to bloom the lotus in the shape of the assembly of scholars; whose moon-like fame, (the eulogy of) which is chanted by the worthy people, captivated by the very high reputation secured by the observance of excellent rules of conduct, have illuminated by its rays the three worlds.

Verses

One who has lighted up the faces of the horizons with his sun-like prowess which is manifested by (his) having robbed the young wives of the enemy Kings of the vermillion mark (on their forehead); (he) who is auspicious in all his limbs because of his unending victories, who is the crest-jewel of all the good kings, who is the abode of virtue, generosity, conscientiousness, and fortitude (1); who is excellent because of the reputation which his measureless qualities have established; who entertains crowds of living beings by his daily distribution (of charities); by whom the world has been bathed

²⁷ The word 'Udarambhari' is usually used to denote 'a gourmand'. But here it seems to have been used in its *Yaugic* sense, meaning 'that which fills its stomach (with food)' i.e., 'an animal', 'a mortal'.

²⁸ Literally, 'write it out.'

in the lustre of his very bright fame which is like a lotus; who has surpassed (even) Veṇu by his proficiency in statecraft and who is resplendent because of the music played on flutes (in his honour);²⁹ such is the illustrious Sovereign Sir John Shore (2).

My submission is that a humble petition was sent by me to the presence of the illustrious one on the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika (3). Having looked into it the illustrious and merciful protector of the people despatched a note to Benares with the object of providing an allowance for me. (lit. ordering the grant of an allowance to me) (4). All the pandits of Benares who were in charge of the College were apprised of the allowance (sanctioned) for me (5). Thereafter, on Thursday the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa you arrived to adorn the city of Benares³⁰ (6). On that occasion, a great longing arose in me for greeting you with my blessings. But as you were in a hurry to proceed West-ward³¹ (5), it was decided by me that I should pay a visit to you on your return, which did not, however, materialise (6). I am, therefore, my Lord, again addressing a letter testifying to (my) humility, to which you ought to listen (7).

When I came to Benares from Gwallior I had some money with me for defraying my expenses, by reason

²⁹ The meaning is not at all happy. The other alternative would be to follow the author of the *Vajjayanti* and to take the word 'Veṇu' to mean the 'Vedas'. In that case the expression should be rendered as 'resplendent because of the chanting of the Vedas', hardly an improvement.

³⁰ 5th January 1797. The date is evidently wrong. Shore did not reach Benares till the evening of the 5th February, which corresponds to Sunday, the 8th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. (Shore to Speke, dated Benares 7th February—*Pol. Cons.* 20th February 1797 No. 68.)

³¹ Shore left Benares for Lucknow on the 10th February (Shore to Speke, dated Jaunpore, 12th February 1797.—*Pol. Cons.* 20th Feb. 1797 No. 69.)

whereof, I could continue my studies. When that money was exhausted I earned my livelihood by reciting the holy *Bhāgavata*. But ever since my eyes were afflicted I am not being able to do anything whatsoever. Even an hour's reading causes water to stream out of the eyes and also pain in the head. The professors of the locality as well as the residents of the city are all well aware of this (fact). Engaged as I have been in offering 'benedictions to Your Excellency since the date when you, Oh illustrious monarch, were pleased to improve my affairs, I feel that it has been very proper indeed that Your Excellency provided for my advancement through the agency of a succession of your servants. It is written in the Holy *Bhāgavata* that the King possesses all the funds necessary for the relief of the destitute. Therefore, do I pray of you, O great ruler, who is the universal sovereign and is the veritable image of the god of justice (established) in the Company's abode, that you may by (your) blessed lips issue in my behalf, instructions to the local officers for (the grant of) a little (as allowance), by becoming a regular recipient of which I may pass my days in great enjoyment at Benares, having (regular) baths in the Celestial river and offering auspicious benedictions to Your Excellency. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

TRANSLATION OF THE THIRD DOCUMENT

Hail! May the multitudinous blessings of Kanharadāsa shine brilliantly on the five times blessed members³² of the (Supreme) Council, who are prosperous, and are the ornament (as it were) to the whole of the terrestrial globe; the river of whose widely-circulated fame has whitened the limitless horizons and who are an

³² The names of the Members are:—Lt. General Sir A. Clarke, P. Speke, and W. Cowper.

adornment to the assembly of the most distinguished scholars whom they have overcome by pleasant and polite courtesies as well as in discourses on diverse sciences. I beg to submit my case, which is as follows:—

The City of Gwallior is my home, and Kanharadāsa my name. I am now residing in Daranagar in the Holy Benares. I had been passing (my time) studying, night and day, the sacred texts with great assiduity but subsequently a misfortune befell me, in consequence of which, great anxieties were caused. Thereupon, I came to the conclusion that an account of my distress should be submitted to the ruler of the people. My misery and the texts justifying its representation being committed to writing were submitted to Mr. Shore, the esteemed ruler at his capital named Calcutta. Some provision was ordered for me by that Paramount ruler on his having heard of the matter, in consequence of which my welfare was secured. The ruler of the principality named Bundelkhand has since become favourably disposed towards me. Some presents have been sent by him for the illustrious Mr. Shore, from his own territories. That is lying with me. It is now heard that he (Mr. Shore) has left for his native land. Therefore, has this humble petition been addressed to the members of the Council who rightly constitute the Supreme authority for deciding all doubtful points. I shall carry out whatever they may be pleased to direct. I shall forward it to them, if so they desire; otherwise I shall hand it over to some European gentleman at Benares. My well-being was due to the sympathy of the emperor, illustrious Mr. Shore. I also pray for his prosperity day and night. Now let me do what the Hon'ble gentlemen direct. No more (need be said) to those who are almost omniscient.

AN ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS OF MAITHILI.

By SUBHADRA JHA

1. *Introductory*

The verb of Maithili consists of a base and a personal termination. Except in the case of verbal forms derived from the OIA, past and present participles, not followed by a personal termination, the distinction of gender is never maintained. The conception of number is totally absent from Maithili verb. The verb is rather a complete sentence, for it defines not only the action but also the person of the doer as is the case with Sanskrit verb. It goes one step further inasmuch as it defines the person spoken of in the sentence. Thus, on one hand the disappearance of distinction of number and to some extent non-existence of gender have made Maithili verb very simple as compared with Sanskrit or Hindi or Oriya; and on the other hand, it has become very complex on account of inflexion of verbal forms in accordance with the person of the different cases. It is on this account that the verb presents a "stumbling block" to learners of this language, who do not inherit it as their mother tongue. In the present paper an analysis of the constituent elements of the verb of Modern Maithili has been attempted.

2. *The Root.*

To begin with let us take up the root first. It is either primary or secondary. A primary root of Maithili is derived from the following sources:—

(i) From the OIA unprefixed roots and bases (present and future) and also OIA causative stems:—

Thus, √हँस, to laugh, Skt. हसति : √जान, to know, Skt. जानाति : √ससर, to move, Skt. ससति : √सून,

to hear, Skt. शृणोति : √नाच, to dance, Skt. नृत्यति : √अछ, to be, IE. *eskoti : √देख, to see, Skt. द्रक्ष्यति : √पसार, to spread, Skt. प्रसारयति : √मार, to beat, Skt. मारयति : etc.

(ii) From OIA prefixed roots and verbal stems :—
 √अकान, to listen to, Skt. आकर्णयति ; √पहिर, to put on, Skt. परिदधाति : √उपज, to grow, Skt. उत्पद्यते : √पहुँच, to reach, OIA *प्रभुच्चति : etc.

(iii) From OIA passive participial forms :—
 √सूत, to sleep, Skt. सुप्त : √भट, to be destroyed, Skt. भ्रष्ट. etc. Besides, there are number of deśi roots. Thus, √हाँक, to drive.

The secondary roots either of causative or denominative origin :—Thus, √हँसा, to cause to laugh, √देखा, to cause to see; etc. The denominative roots are obtained not only from nouns but from adjectives and indeclinables also, by addition of आ, इआ, आस, अस, आठ, ऐठ, एठ, एव, आध, (and एज) to specific class of bases. Thus, √गोरा, to become fairer, from गोर, Skt. गौर : √मनुसा, to feel like a young man, from, मनुस, Skt. मनुष्य : √बतुआ, to co-habit with a he-goat, from बोट, he-goat : √मँड़िआ, to stiffen with gruel, from मँड़, Skt. मण्ड : √गुमस, to become stuffy, from गुम्म, Skt. ग्रीष्म : √खुटेस, to fasten to a खुट्टा, a small post : √हुराठ, to strike with हूर, pointed end of a club : √चुनेट, to whitewash with चून, lime : √रसाध, to fasten to a rope, from रस्सा, Skt. रश्मि : √गुनेध, to unite the गुणस, brands, of a string, from गून, Skt. गुण : √अडजे, to get accustomed to, from अड, Skt. अङ्ग : √बहरा, to come out, from बाहर, Skt. बहिः : √चुडाठ, to trouble a man by feeding him flat rice, ie., चूडा : √खट्वास, to remain lying on bed, from Skt. खट्वा etc.

Here a mention may be made of Sts. nouns which are used as verbal roots. For instance, √भेद, to make a hole in; √चिन्ह, to recognise, Skt. चिन्ह ; etc.

* IE. *pra-bheu-ska-ti* ; etc.

3. *Formal Classification of Maithilī roots*

Maithilī roots can be broadly divided into two main classes: (1) Those that end in consonant, (2) and those that end in vowel. The roots of the former class can further be divided into two sub-classes: (i) The roots with two consonants having a long vowel between them, such roots shorten their long root vowel if there is a phonetic necessity. Thus, √बाज, to speak, pres. part. बजैत, but p.p. बाजल; √नीप, to plaster, pres. part. निपैत, but p.p. नीपल; etc. (ii) The roots of the type other than the above. They do not undergo any modification. Thus, √रह, to remain, pres. part. रहैत, p.p. रहल; etc. The roots of the latter class can also be divided into two sub-classes: (iii) Those that take व to form bases in certain kind of formation. Thus, √पी to drink, pres. part. पिबैत, p.p. पील, पिउल; √छ्, to touch, pres. part. छुबैत, p.p. छुइल, छल; etc. (iv) Those that do not take it. Thus, √खा, to eat, pres. part. खाइत, p.p. खाएल; etc. Here it may be noted that of the roots under class (iii) is derived from MIA —w—, found in words like gāwei, Skt. गायति; sunāwei, Skt. श्रावयति; etc.

4. *The Voice*

There are three voices in Maithilī. The Active, the Passive and the Neuter. The transitive verbs can be used in the first two voices and the intransitive verbs can be used in the first and the third voices. We shall have occasion to speak about it in detail later on.

5. *The Sense of Maithilī Verb*

A Maithilī verb is either active or passive in sense. Thus, हम जाइतछी, I go; खाइत छी, I eat; etc. Here the sense is active. But भात होइत अछि, rice is being cooked;

गाछ कटैत अछि, tree is being cut; etc. where the sense of the verb is passive.

The words active and passive used here should not be confused with the same words used above under the 'Voice'. In the following pages except in the present case the words are used in the same sense as under the 'Voice'.

6. *The Tenses and Moods*

The three tenses exist in Maithili. Besides, the indicative, and the imperative inherited from the OIA there have sprung up a number of new moods, which were not found in the OIA. The work of the optative in Maithili is performed by forms of the indicative derived from the OIA indicative forms. The future indicative of the OIA has remained in the second and the third persons only and now performs the function of the future imperative. So except the present indicative, the present imperative, and the future indicative no mood forms of the OIA have survived in Maithili.

The tenses are either simple or compound according as they are formed from one, or two, or more roots.

The tenses are either radical or participial, according as they are derived from OIA tense forms or some participial forms.

The following moods are found in Maithili in tenses as stated below :

A. **Simple Tenses.**

I. The OIA Present Indicative "Radical Tense". The Present Indicative of old Maithili, (now confined to poetry only), the Present optative, the Present Subjunctive with or without 'if', and the Past Habitual.

So the sentence ओ आबए, in different context may mean 'he comes, may he come, if he come, and he used to come'.

II. Tense derived from the OIA :—Present Tense of the Passive Voice in the third person only now used in the first person in the Active Voice. Present Optative, Present Optative Subjunctive, and Habitual Past. Thus, हम आबी may mean 'I may come, if I come, I used to come' in different context.

III. Tense derived from the OIA sigmatic future:—Future Imperative; in the second and the third persons only : अबिहह 'you should come, in future,' कहिहथि 'he should speak in future'.

IV. Present Imperative Tense:—

आबय, 'let him come.'

V. Tenses originating from the OIA participle bases:—

(a) From the Present Participle.

1. Future Indicative Tense, third person only :—ओ कहताह, 'he will say'.

2. Past Conditional Tense :—ओ कहैत, 'if he had said'.

(b) Tense from the OIA. Past Participle MIA. इल, एल, उल, and अल. Past Tense. आएल, 'he came.'

(c) Tense originating from the Future participle. Future Indicative, in the first and the second persons only : हम आएब 'I shall come.' तौं अबह, 'you will come.'

B. Compound Tenses with two Roots

1. From the Present Participle Base √अछ and other substantive verbs :

(a) Present Indicative with अछि, to be, in the Indic Present : देखैत अछि, 'he sees'.

(b) Present Progressive in the Subjunctive with √हो, to be, in the Indic Present खाइत होअए, 'if he be eating.'

- (c) Present Presumptive with $\sqrt{\text{हो}}$, to be, in Future : खाइत होएताह, 'presumably he is eating'.
- (d) Past Progressive with $\sqrt{\text{अछ}}$ in the Past Tense : अबैत छलहुँ, 'I was coming'.
- (e) Present Progressive Imperative, with $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$, to remain, in the Imperative : खाइन रह, 'continue eating.'
- (f) Past Habitual and Instantaneous Progressive, and also Present Optative with $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$, in the Indic Present, in the case of second and third Persons only : in the case of the first person (?) remains in the Indic Passive Present. अबैत रही, may mean 'I used to come, may I continue to come, and if I continue to come' in different context.
- (g) Future Presumptive or Progressive with $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$, in the Future Indicative : अबैत रहब, 'I shall continue coming or I shall be coming.'
- (h) Future Progressive Imperative with $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$, in the Future Imperative, (second and third persons only) : कहैत रहिहहुन्ह 'you will please continue to speak to him.'
- (i) Present Imperfect Conditional with $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$ in the Conditional : अबैत रहितथि, 'had he continued coming.'
- (j) Present Imperfect Progressive with $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$ in in the Past Tense : बजैत रहल, 'he continued saying.'

2. Tenses originating from the Past Participle Base *plus* a verb substantive in different tenses :

- (a) Present Perfect Instantaneous with the principal verb in the Past Indicative Tense *plus* the Present of $\sqrt{\text{अछि}}$ of the third person : देखलहुँ अछि, 'I have seen.'
- (b) Present Perfect Indefinite of transitive verbs with the principal verb in the absolutive of the past

passive participle and the auxiliary verb अछि in the Present Indicative : देखने छी, 'I have seen.'

- (c) Present Perfect of Intransitive Verb with the principal verb in the Past Participial form and the Present Indicative of $\sqrt{\text{सूत}}$, एतए सूतल छी, 'I have slept here.'
- (d) Past Perfect with the principal verb in ने in the case of transitive verbs and in ल in the case of intransitive verbs, with the Past Indicative of $\sqrt{\text{अछ}}$ or the Present Optative of $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$, देखने छलहुँ, 'I had seen.' सूतल रहए, 'he had slept.'
- (e) Past Presumptive with the Principal verb as above and $\sqrt{\text{हो}}$ in Future : गेल होएत, 'he might have gone'; खएने होएताह, 'he might have eaten'.
- (f) Past Subjunctive or Conditional with the Principal Verb as above and $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$ in the Conditional : सूतल रहितहुँ, 'if I had slept'; खएने रहितहुँ, 'I might have finished eating (by now)'.
- (g) Future Perfect with the Principal Verb as above and $\sqrt{\text{रह}}$ in the Future Indicative : गेल रहब, 'I shall have gone', खएने रहब, 'I shall have eaten'.
- (h) Present Perfect Subjunctive with the Principal Verb as above and $\sqrt{\text{हो}}$ in the Indic Present : गेल होथि, 'if he has gone'.

C. For an account of Periphrastic Tenses with more than two roots see below under Auxiliary Verbs.

7. The Base

It has been seen above that the bases which form the different tense forms are either radical or obtainable from one of the participles. Therefore, it is desirable to explain the formation of the different kinds of bases.

Radical Base

All the transitive verb roots ending in आ including the causative formations even from intransitive verb

roots, except the root खा, to eat, and the intransitive verb root आ, to come, take the विकरण 'ब'; so do the roots ending in ई, ऊ to form the radical base. Thus √गा, to sing, √आ, to come, √हँसा, to cause to laugh, and √पी, to drink, form their radical base as गाओल, आब, हँसाब, and पीब.

The roots द, to give, and ल, to take, become दि, लि, in the first person, and दे and ले in the third person.

Present Participle Base

ऐत is added to the radical base to form the present participle base. Such roots ending in आ as do not take the विकरण 'ब' to form the radical base and the roots ending in ओ take इत to form present participle base.

Thus :—From √कह, to say, √द, to give, √छू, to touch, √हो, to be, √खा, to eat, the present participle bases are कहैत, दैत, छुबैत, होइत, खाइत.

Past Participle Base

The roots ending in a consonant take अल. Thus :—देखल, from √देख, to see.

The roots ending in आ not taking ब in the radical take एल to form the past participle base. Thus :—from √नहा, to bathe, नहाएल. Other roots ending in आ take ओल. Thus, from √नुका, to hide, नुकाओल. The roots ending in ई, ऊ take उल, इल respectively. Thus :—from √सी, to stitch, and √छू to touch, the past participle bases are सिउल and छुइल.

√द, to give and √ल, to take have देल and लेल.

√कर, to do, √मर, to die and √धर, to hold have कएल, मुइल, and धएल as the past participle base.

The roots ending in ओ take एल. Thus :—from √धो, to wash, धोएल.

Past Participle Absolutive

It is formed by adding ग् to the past participle base.

[Vide § 9]

(To be Continued)

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CASTE-NAMES : SĀLĪ AND PADMASĀLĪ

By P. K. GODE

In the *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakosa*¹ we find an article on the *Sālī* caste which is based on the information supplied to the Editors of this Encyclopaedia by a member of this caste. But this information is not substantiated by reliable documentary evidence. Even if we presume it to be reliable in material particulars it is difficult to use this mixture of fact and belief for any historical studies about this caste. We must, therefore, verify the information from available records and try to link up at least a portion of these data with authentic history, social or political.

It is difficult to assess the exact historical value of the *Māhātmyas* and the *Purāṇas* and consequently it is difficult to say anything with certainty about the genuineness or otherwise of the *Sālimāhātmya Purāṇa*. In view of this difficulty we must study the antiquity and history of this caste on the strength of external evidence. For this purpose we must record evidence about the

• ¹ By Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Vol. XXI, (स १७७). This article records information about the subcaste *Svakula Sālī*. The members of this caste number about 50000 and they are scattered over Mahārāṣṭra, Berar, Nagpur and Karnātaka. There are six subcastes of the *Svakula Sālī* caste, viz., (1) अष्टरे (अहेर), (2) शुद्ध (सुत), (3) टिकले, (4) बांगड, (5) गुजर, (6) पद्मसाली. No inter-marriages are allowed among the members of these castes. Generally the Deśastha Brahmins work as their priests. A work called साली माहात्म्य पुराण is considered sacred by the members of these castes. It is said to have been composed by the sage Atri (in Sanskrit). An adaptation of this Purāṇa in Prākṛit called मूलस्तंभीतालमाहात्म्यपुराण is said to have been composed by भानुदास before A.D. 1213 (= Śaka 1135). This Purāṇa gives the origin of the Sālī Caste (information supplied by Mr. G. G. Shere of Sagar).

antiquity of the caste-names² current in India at different times as caste-nomenclature³ is the result of caste-consciousness in a social group and the history of this group lies behind the caste-nomenclature, the antiquity of which needs to be traced to its source as far as possible.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*⁴ shows the presence of the people of the *Sālī* caste in the different districts of the Bombay Presidency. In view of this fact we are naturally curious to know the history of this caste and its subdivi-

² I have published the following papers on the caste-names current in the Deccan:—

- (i) The Antiquity of the caste-name “Śeṇvi” (*The Bombay University Journal*, Vol. VI, Pt. VI, pp. [152-155].)
- (ii) Caste-name Gābīt (*Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, 1938, pp. 213-222).

³ Vide *Indian Caste* by John Wilson, Vol. I, 1877. On page 40 we find a table of castes as mentioned in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa*, in which कुविन्दक or weaver is said to have Viśwakarmā as his father and a Śūdra woman as mother. Wilson refers to 4 lists of Castes as follows:—

- (1) Lists given in the *Mānu Smṛti*.
- (2) Lists presented to the British Government by the Poona Brahmins (pp. 65-70).
- (3) List by Colebrooke (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V).
- (4) List found in the *Jātiviveka*.

Wilson states that none of these lists altogether agree with one another. This fact establishes the fictional character of the caste arrangements especially of the *Mixed classes*.

In List No. 2 mentioned above we find the *Sālī* and *Koṣṭī*.

“74. *Shāmbhara—Sālī—Weaver*”—born of आवर्तक and वेन.

75. *Kuravinda—Koṣṭī—Weaver and Spinner* born of आवर्तक and कुक्कुट.

⁴ Vide Index to the *Bombay Gazetteer* 1904, p. 326—“*Sālī*; a caste of weavers in *Ratnagiri* district, X, 125; in *Thana* district, XIII, 134; in *Nasik* district, XVI, 53; in *Ahmadnagar* district, XVII, 130-131; in *Satara* district, XIX, 93; in *Sholapur* district, XX, 137; in *Belgaum* district, XXI, 145-47; in *Dharwar* district, XXII, 172-178; in *Bijapur* district, XXIII, 277-279; in *Kolhapur State*, XXIV, 95; in *Poona* district, XVIII, Pt. 1, 361-365; in *Kolaba* district, XI, 65; in *Khandesh* district, XII, 75, 229, 234.

sions during the course of the evolution of the Hindu Society as it exists today.

The Marathi lexicons⁵ do not record any historical usages of the term *Sālī*.⁶ I shall, therefore, try to record a few such usages found by me in works of the 17th century. The Mahārāṣṭra saint Tukārām refers to a man of the *Sālī* caste in the following lines⁷ in his *Gāthā* :—

“मजसवें नको चेष्टा। नव्हे साली काहीं कोष्टा.”

Here साली is contrasted with कोष्टा. The कोष्टी is explained by Molesworth as a spinner and weaver but he further states that the men of the कोष्टी caste agree with the men of the साली caste in occupation but differ in caste. This explanation agrees with Tukārām's remark viz. “नव्हे साली काहीं कोष्टा”.

Another reference to the *Sālī*⁸ and the *Koṣṭī* is found in the work *Kāyasthadharma-Pradīpa* of Gāgābhaṭṭa who

⁵ Molesworth (*Marathi-English Dictionary*, Bombay, 1857) explains the word साली as a class of weavers (in cotton or silk) or an individual of it:—Proverb ‘सालयाची गाय साल्या चें वासरु’.—used where things wanted are gathered from all quarters.

⁶ A few remarks about the *Sālīs* from the *Bombay Gazetteer* may be noted here:—They claim descent from Vastradhārī, the robesman of the gods, whom the gods accompanied on earth in the form of useful tools. Their family gods are Bahirobā of Sonari in Ahmadnagar, Devi of Tuljapur in the Nizam's country, and Khandobā of Jejuri in Poona. They belong to four divisions (1) *Sakul*, (2) *Nakul* (or *Lakul*), (3) *Padam* and (4) *Chāmbbār*, *Sālīs*. *Sakul Sālīs* are the pure descendants of the founder of the caste. *Lakuls* are bastards, *Padmas* are Telangs and *Chambbars* are of unknown origin. *Sakuls* neither eat nor marry with the other three divisions. *Lakuls*, *Padmas*, and *Chambbars* neither eat together nor inter-marry but all eat from *Sakuls*. They worship all Brahmanical and other gods and keep all Hindu fasts and feasts. Their priest is a village Joshi They have no religious teacher They have a caste council. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. (See pp. 130-131 of *B. Gaz.* XVII—Ahmadnagar).

⁷ *Tukārām's Gāthā*, ed. by R. V. Madgaonkar, Bombay, 1886. *Abhanga* No. 277.

⁸ Sardar G. N. Mujumdar has published a list of articles of grocery pertaining to Shivaji's times, i.e., 17th century (B. I. S. M. Quarterly, May 1940, Vol. XX, No. 4—pp. 157-161). On p. 160 of this list there is a reference to साली, कोस्टे, रंगारी, धणगर, गौली.

officiated at the coronation of Shivaji the Great in A.D. 1674. In this work Gāgābhaṭṭa gives us the definitions of several caste-names current in his time and also indicates their vernacular equivalents as the following extract will show:—

“संगता वेन वनिता वर्तकेन यदा रहः ।

तस्यां शांवरकाभिख्यः पुत्र संलक संमतः ॥

स हीनस्त्वन्यजातिभ्यः शुचिवासो विधायकः ।

अयं साली^१ इति भाषाप्रसिद्धः

अभीर कुक्कुटाभ्यां यो जातः सौवीरसंजकः ।

स कुर्यात्तसरीणां च वसनान्यात्मवृत्तये ॥

तद्वेपरीत्याद्यो जातो निलीकर्ता स कथ्यते ।

कोशटा इति बंगालदेशभाषाप्रसिद्धः ॥

This reference to *Salis* and *Koṣṭes* supports Gāgābhaṭṭa's usages of these terms c. 1674 A.D. Tobacco or तंबाखू is mentioned twice in this list. The list is of importance to the students of Economics of the Maratha period of history. It mentions other articles of trade such as—गुलाल, गंधक, पारा, मोरचूत, अरगजा, तुरटी, सज्याखार, साखर सोमोल, मनसील, रेवतचिनी, कृष्णागर, चोपचिनी, ऊद, तरकारी दालिवे, मकेचे कणसे, फणसपोली etc.

^१ It is difficult to say how far Gāgābhaṭṭa's definition of the term *Salī* is correct historically. At the best he has only recorded the Shāstric view of the term *Salī* and its verification on the strength of historical evidence needs to be attempted by the students of history and sociology as well.

In the जातिविवेकप्रकरण of a work called the स्मृतिमहाराज by कृष्णराज (MS No. 347 of 1887-91) we find definitions of several castes (*jāṭis*). On folio 19b of the above MS the definition of कुविद or weaver is recorded and the vernacular term साली for कुविद is also noted:—

“तृतीये दिवसे गत्वा शूद्रो मोहद्रजस्वलां ।

यं पुत्रं जनयेत्सोत्र कुविद इति कीर्तितः ॥

कुर्यान्नूतनवस्त्राणि जीवेत्तद्विक्रयेण च ।

द्विजसेवा सदा कुर्यान्नास्य काप्यपराजिता ॥कुविदः । साली ।”

No chronology of the स्मृतिमहाराज has been given by Prof. Kane (Vide pp. 670 and 688 of *History of Dharma*. I, 1930). Its author कृष्णराज was a king of Mahārāṣṭra. On folio 12 the definition of साली is recorded as follows:—

“संगता वेन वनिता वर्तकेन यदा रहः ।

तस्य शावरकाभिख्यः पुत्रो सौलीकर्तृवश्रुतः ॥

स हीनस्त्वन्यजातिभ्यः शुचिवासो विधायकः ।

वेन वनिर्वेति । आवर्त्तको वैष्णवो गायको ब्राह्मणश्चेति ॥

Before recording usages of the term *Sāli* or *Padma-Sāli* earlier than Gāgābhaṭṭa's time, i.e. say before A.D. 1650 or so I shall record here some remarks on the *Sāle* caste of weavers in the Mysore State by Nanjundayya and Iyer.¹⁰ Speaking of the origin and tradition of this caste these authors inform us as follows:—

(1) The term *Sāle* is a general term applied to a group of castes who have adopted weaving as their profession.

(2) The term *Sāle* comes from the Sanskrit *Sālika*¹¹ (weaver) and its Kannaḍa equivalent is *neyige*.

(3) The account of the origin of the *Sale* caste as it is given out tells us that “in order to clothe the nakedness of people in the world Śiva commissioned Mārkaṇḍeya to perform a sacrifice and one Bhavana Ṛṣi came out of the holy fire, holding a lotus flower (*padma*) in his hand. He married two wives *Prasannavati* and *Bhadravati*, daughters of *Sūrya* (the Sun) and had a hundred and one sons, all of whom took to weaving cloth out of the fibre of the lotus flower for men to wear and became the progenitors of the one hundred and one *gotras* of this caste. God *Sūrya*, being pleased with what they did, gave them a fifth Veda called *Padma Veda*. And so men of this caste give out that they belong to *Padma Śākhā* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Sūtra*, analogous to *Śākhās*, *Sūtras* and *gotras* of the Brahmins.”

इति सांबरः । साली ”. This definition is the same as we find in Gāgābhaṭṭa's *Kayasthadharmapradīpa*. Then again the definition of कोराय given by Gāgābhaṭṭa, viz., “अमीर कुक्कुटाभ्यां.....कथ्यते” is also recorded on folio 12 of the स्मृतिमहाराज. It is difficult to say if Gāgābhaṭṭa has drawn from the स्मृतिराज (or vice versa) some matter for his कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप.

¹⁰ *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. IV, by H. V. Nanjundayya and L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Mysore, 1931, pp. 559 ff.

¹¹ There is no such word as *Sālika* found in Sanskrit Dictionaries.

“They profess to have followed rites prescribed for Brahmans till at the beginning of the Kali age one of their castemen named *Padmākṣa* declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which Brahma had given to their caste, to Gaṇapati, who sought to learn the secret, which they had been enjoined to keep and who, on his wish not being gratified, cursed them to fall from their high status. It is said, however, that one *Parabrahmamūrti* born of *Śrīrāma Agrabāra* pleased Gaṇapati by his *tapas* and got the curse removed, so that after 5000 years of the Kaliyuga they should regain their lost position. This *Parabrahmamūrti* otherwise known as *Padmabhavāchārya*, it is said, redistributed into ninety-six *gotras* arranged in eight groups and established four *Maṭhas* and *gurus* for them.”

We are also told that “the age and origin of this story cannot be ascertained.” In view of this express statement of Messrs. Nanjundayya and Iyer this story¹² has no evidential value in proving the antiquity of the term *Sālī* or *Padmasālī*. In the same manner Mr. Stuart’s note regarding the origin of this caste, which refers to the migration of the *Sālīyas* from their Andhra home to the territory under the jurisdiction of Rājārāja I, needs verification on the strength of contemporary historical evidence. At any rate no such evidence has been recorded by the above authors in their book under reference.

¹² Vide footnote on p. 560 of *Mysore Tribes and Castes* where Mr. Stuart’s remarks regarding the origin of the *Sālī* caste are reproduced as follows:—

“They claim to be the descendants of the sage named Mrikanda, the weaver of the gods. Their original home appears to have been the Andhra country from whence a section of the *Sālīyas* was invited by the Chola King Rajaraja I after the union of the Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties”—*Census Report of Madras for 1891*, p. 285.

The principal groups of the *Sāle* caste are as follows :—

- (1) *Padmasāle*
- (2) *Pattusāle* (*silk*)
- (3) *Sakimsāle*

Here again we are told that the origin of these subdivisions is not clear. The *Padmasāle* division is, however, more important than the other two divisions. According to a tradition current among the *Sāle* caste the members of this caste emigrated from Vijayanagara territory, in particular from Hampe during the time of Kempe Gauḍa. If this tradition is correct the migration of the *Sāles* from the Vijayanagara territory can be said to have taken place about the middle of the 16th century as Kempe Gauḍa of Bengaluru flourished about A.D. 1558.¹³ While dealing with the textile industries during the period of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar Prof. Ramanayya¹⁴ gives us some valuable information about the *Sāles*. Three references from this information may be noted here as they are of historical value:—

(1) An inscription¹⁵ of Andirāju Koḍūr mentions two classes of looms, *togaṭa maggas* and *Sāle-maggas*.

(2) According to the *Āmuktamālyada*¹⁶ of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (4.35) the weaver Caste had divisions of the names: *Padmasāles*, *Sāles*, *Jāṇḍras* etc.

¹³ B.A. Saletore : *Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, p. 320—"A prominent example of a chieftain being punished is that of Kempe Gauḍa of Bengaluru. This chief in about A.D. 1558 was imprisoned by Rāma Rāja for exceeding the powers of a feudal lord and coining Bhire—Deva—Pagodas."

¹⁴ *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, by Prof. N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935, p. 304.

¹⁵ *Local Records* by C. P. Brown I, pp. 11-13.

¹⁶ This "sublime poem" was composed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself (see p. 434 of *Third Dynasty*).

(3) The *Atthavaṇa Tantram*¹⁷ divides the weavers into two classes: (1) *Kurubas* and (2) the *Sāles*.

The foregoing evidence appears to establish the fact that the *Sāles* and *Padmasāles* as caste-names were current in the first half of the 16th century within the confines of the Vijayanagara Empire. This conclusion is further supported by an inscription recently published by Mr. M. R. Kavi in the *Annals*¹⁸ of the S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati. This inscription is dated Śaka 1463 (Śubhakṛt, Kārtika Śukla 15) = A.D. 1541 and "records the gift of 10,000 *varāhas* by the leaders of the *Padmasālā* sect to Tallapaka Tiruvengalanāthayya with an annual subsidy of one *aparāṇī rūka* (gold coin) for each loom and one *rūka* on the marriage occasion in their familiesThe gift of *aparāṇī rūka* levied annually on each loom of their caste and of *rūka*—the marriage gift—were intended for the expense of the donee's charities and house-hold expenses."

The occasion for the above grant of A.D. 1541 as detailed in the inscription itself and summarised by Mr. M. R. Kavi is as follows:—

"A contest took place between the *Padmasālā* and *Jaṇḍra* castes whether which of the two castes were descendants of the family in which the Goddess Lakṣmī was born. Tiruvengalanātha, the donee, took the leaders of the two castes to Tirucānur and before the whole congregation induced Goddess Padmāvatī herself to declare that *Padmasālas* descended from the family of her parents and the charities of the *Jaṇḍra* people could not

¹⁷ The *Atthavaṇa Tantra* is a work on revenue administration—Ibid. p. 111. (*Mackenzie Manuscripts* 15-6-8—According to *Atthavaṇa Tantra* all affairs connected with the revenue of the state were under the jurisdiction of the *Atthavaṇa* or *Śīmāmūla*).

¹⁸ Vol. I, Part I, March 1940—pp. 89 ff.—Copper-Plate Inscription of Tallapaka Tiruvengalanātha issued from Tirucānur.

have greater claim over those of the *Padmasālā* caste. This service of Tiruveṅgalanātha, the donee, had to be rewarded by the gifts mentioned above The *Padmasālā* weavers having been admitted as possessors of superior rights and duties in the charities to be made for God Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī were pleased to make the grants." Mr. Kavi further tells us that the same matter with the same donors and donee as in the above inscription is noted in an inscription recorded in Mackenzie collection Vol. No. 15-4-18, p. 57 and in its copy—*Local Records* Vol. 48, p. 443 in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. The occasion for the above grant was also a contest between the *Padmasālās* and *Jaṇḍras*. The above inscription is dated Śaka 1493=A.D. 1571. It extolls the weaving skill of the *Padmasālās*, which extends to the spinning and weaving of the threads of the divine lotus which adorns the navel of God Viṣṇu out of which they supplied the divine clothes to various gods in Hindu pantheon. Other points of interest bearing on the ancestry and tradition of the *Padmasālās* noted by Mr. Kavi from the inscription may be briefly noted here:—

(1) The *Padmasālās* are descended from *Bhāvana-maharṣi* who sprang from the *homakuṇḍa* of sage Mārkaṇḍeya.

(2) *Pañca-ṛṣi* was a brother of *Bhāvana*, who seems to have married the daughter of sun (probably virgin *Bhadrāvati* mentioned in line 88 of the Inscription).

(3) Certain members of the caste achieved some heroic acts and thus procured titles for the whole caste.

Mr. Kavi informs us further that "these weavers are said to reside in every town, particularly in—

Tirupati, Candragiri, Śrīraṅgam, Conjeevaram, Tri-chinopoly, Chenuapaṭṇa (Madras), Kālahasti, Veṅkaṭagiri, Vellore, Nellōre, Podili, Udayagiri, Golkoṇḍa, Penugonḍa, Inugonḍa (in Guntur district?), Kāṇḍanūm, Jagannātha, Delhi, Aurangabad, Rāyadurg, Avaku (in

Kurnool district), Gurramkoṇḍa, Gooty, Koṇḍviḍu, Bhallapura (in Bellary ?), Srirangapatam, Ahmednagar, Bangalore, Cuddapah, Siddhavaṭam, Rajamundry, Chirala, Perala, Mangalagiri, etc.”

My object in collecting together the foregoing information in detail is mainly to provide data¹⁶ to the historians of caste in India and also to record documentary evidence regarding the antiquity of caste-names *Sālī* and *Padmasālī* now current in the Bombay Presidency and outside.

The following table will give at a glance the chronology of the usages of these caste-names:—

A.D.	Source	Caste-name	Remarks
1509—1530	Āmuktamālyada of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya	<i>Padmasāles, Sāles Jāṇḍras</i>	
1541	Copperplate inscription of Tīr u v eṅgala-nātha	<i>Padmasālā, Jāṇḍra</i>	Cf. tradition about the migration of <i>Sāles</i> from Vijayanagara in Kempe Gauda's time (C. 1558 A.D.)
1571	Mackenzie Collection Inscription	<i>Padmasālā, Jāṇḍra</i>	
	Tukārāma's Gāthā	<i>Sālī, Koṣṭā</i>	
C. 1674	Gāgābhaṭṭa's Kāyasthadharma Pradīpa	<i>Sālī Koṣaṭā</i>	Sanskrit “ <i>Sanilaka</i> ” a term current in Bengal according to Gāgābhaṭṭa.

¹⁶ Though the Caste-names are included in Dictionaries of different vernaculars it is necessary to prepare a special *Dictionary of Caste-names* with a view to help historical and sociological study of Indian castes. In the same manner a Dictionary of Surnames current in India is also a desideratum to facilitate an accurate exploitation of all available sources bearing on Indian Sociology. Even the usages of the term—“*Upanāma*” (=Surname), which is comparatively a modern product, have not been recorded in any responsible publication. In the absence of such helpful, though mechanical work, the study of an individual problem becomes a herculean task.

SĀRASVATĀDVAITASUDHA

(A Dissertation on the *Raghuvamśa* by LAKSMANA PANDITA)

By K. MADHAVA KRISHNA ŚARMA

The only work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, which is now well-known to scholars, is his commentary *Sāracandrikā* on the *R̥ghavapāṇḍavīya*. Other works of his are very rare. Aufrecht in his *Cat. Cat.*, I, 536 b, notices, besides *Sāracandrikā*, a *Sūktimuktāvali* also and observes:—

“Whether the *Sūktāvali* Peters. 3, 35a, 54 is the same anthology, remains, for the present, uncertain.”

About half a century has elapsed since Aufrecht expressed this doubt. None has investigated into the relation of these two works, and Aufrecht's doubt is there even to-day. Under a separate entry of Lakṣmaṇa, Aufrecht notices (*Ibid.* I, 536b) *Yogacandrikā*, a work on medicine. There are two MSS of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner (Nos. 4004 and 4005). On examination of these, I am convinced that this Lakṣmaṇa is the same author. There is, therefore, no need for two separate entries in the *Cat. Cat.*. Nāganātha in Aufrecht's second entry stands for Nāgeśa, a preceptor of our author. One of the MSS referred to, namely, No. 4005, is dated Śaṃvat 1747 (A.D. 1690). This date is very important inasmuch as it proves that Lakṣmaṇa cannot be assigned to a period later than the 17th century. This may have some bearing on the relation of *Sūktimuktāvali* and *Sūktāvali*.

Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (para 373, p. 390, footnote) mentions one *Sūktāvali* of Lakṣmaṇa, composed in 1867 A.D. No evidence is given for this date. What we have to note is that if

this date for *Sūktāvali* is correct, it cannot be the work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita who, as the date of the above *MS* shows, flourished at least a century earlier.

Another work erroneously fathered upon our author by Krishnamachariar (*Ibid.*, para 88, p. 189, footnote) is a commentary on Vādirāja's *Yasodharacarita*, for which a reference is made to the *Triennial Catalogue*, Madras, III, 3824. But this is not correct, for the author of this commentary is Lakṣaṇa (not Lakṣmaṇa), a Jaina, who has no connection whatsoever with our author.

Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita was of the Kauṇḍinyagotra. He was the son of Datta and Gojāmbikā, younger brother of Gaṇeśa and Raghunātha of Benares, and the nephew of Nāgeśa and Nārāyaṇa who were also his preceptors of medical science. Uttamaślokatīrtha, the author of *Laghuvārtikaṭikā*, was his preceptor in Advaita. He pays homage to Rāmāśrama also. If this Rāmāśrama is the same as the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, it proves the upper limit of our author's date, viz., the middle of the 17th century. For the other limit we have the date of the *MS* in the Anup Sanskrit Library, viz., Śaṃvat 1747 or A.D. 1690. We can thus assign him to the latter half of the 17th century.

A rare work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita which has not hitherto received a scholarly notice anywhere is his *Sārasvatādvaitaśudhā*. It is a philosophical and grammatical dissertation on the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa. The philosophical view adopted is Advaita. There is a *MS* of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library. Unfortunately, the *MS* contains the commentary up to the sixteenth verse of the first Canto.

The *MS* is on country made paper. It has 66 folio $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$; 10 lines in a page; 30 syllables in a line; Devanāgarī script; Old; Discoloured and slightly worm-eaten. On the last page there is a note in Kannaḍa mentioning one Śaṭkarmanirata Dīkṣita.

Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

परापरपदद्वन्द्वानुशासनविशारदम् ।
 नमस्यामि गुरुद्वैतमद्वैतसमवस्थितम् ॥ १ ॥
 आश्रेयकौण्डिन्यकूलतिलकायितमूर्तिकौ ।
 गोजाम्बिकादत्तबुधौ पितरावन्तगश्रये ॥ २ ॥
 काशीवाससमुल्लामिसद्विद्याशीलसंपदौ ।
 गणेशगन्धुनाथारुख्यसंख्यावन्तौ भजेऽग्रजौ ॥ ३ ॥
 विश्वविख्यातनागेशनारायणसदाह्वयौ ।
 मत्यावमतनासत्यावतुलौ नौमि मातुलौ ॥ ४ ॥
 तज्जयत्युत्तमश्लोकपादाम्बुजरजोऽञ्जनम् ।
 येन सत्त्वमयं चक्षुर्मम तत्त्वमवेक्षते ॥ ५ ॥
 अन्तःसंतमसध्वंसे यस्य गावो विकस्वराः ।
 श्रीरामाश्रममश्रान्तं भास्वन्तं तं समाश्रये ॥ ६ ॥
 विन्यस्तभूरिभारस्य श्लाघ्यसद्गुरुमातरि ।
 स्थाने मम समेधन्ते नैकधात्वादिसम्पदम् ॥ ७ ॥
 सत्कथापरमार्थाभ्यामनुरञ्जयते जनान् ।
 आशयं कालिदासस्य विवरीतं यतामहे ॥ ८ ॥
 उत्तमश्लोकपादेषु यद्वस्त्वधिगतं मया ।
 उत्तमश्लोकपादेषु यद्वस्त्वधिगतं मया (?) ॥ १० ॥
 वैदिकं वस्तु वाग्देव्या कथयापिहितं पुरः ।
 कः पश्येदुत्तमश्लोककृपालोः कविर्वर्जितः ॥ १० ॥
 यत्संगतोऽद्वैतसुधासमुद्रे संविश्य यद्भाविक्ता मिता स्मः ।
 नरस्वभावापहरः सुहृन्नो नारायणः सर्वगुरुः स जीयात् ॥ ११ ॥

... ..

Fol. 6a : अत्र वागार्थाविव संपृक्ताविति वागर्थप्रतिपदिति च पृथक् पदम् ।
 वागर्थप्रतिपदहं वागार्थाविव संपृक्तौ जगतः पितरौ पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ नये वन्दे इत्यन्वयः ।
 वन्ति गच्छन्ति गन्धयन्ति हिंसन्तीति वाः । आगमापायिनो दुःखपर्यवसायिनश्च विषयाः ।
 तेषु अक् कुटिलगतिरन्तःकण्ठादीनामनर्थपर्यवसायिनी प्रवृत्तिः । तस्मै अर्थो निवृत्तिः ।
 तां प्रतिपद्यते । इति वागर्थप्रतिपत् । नित्यानित्यविवेकदोषदर्शनोपपन्नवैराग्यमूलकशमद-
 मादिरूपबाह्यनिवृत्तिसम्पन्नः । वा गतिगन्धनयोः । अस्मात्किवप् चेति कर्तरि किवप् ।
 अन्येष्वपि दृश्यत इति डो वा ॥

End : भास्वद्वद्भजानिबंशावतंसश्रीमदगोपादत्तसूरिप्रसूतेः ।

हृद्यो विद्वल्लक्ष्मणस्य प्रयासो विश्वेशस्य प्रीतये शश्वदस्तु ॥

इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यपारावारपारीणपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमदुत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ-
महामुनिकृपाकटाक्षैकवीक्षितब्रह्मज्ञानिवंशावतंसदत्तसूरिसुतश्रीलक्ष्मणपण्डितविरचितायां
रघुवंशापरपर्यायसारस्वतोपनिषद्ब्याख्यायामद्वैतसुधासमाख्यायां समन्वयममर्थनो नाम
प्रथमः कलापः ॥

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SHRĪMAD BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ—The solution of life-problems. Annotated by Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar Mulkh Raj Puri, Shree Maharaja Steel Mills, Ltd., Kapurthala, 1944. Pages xxxviii + 383. Price Rs. 3.

The study of the *Bhagavadgītā* is to-day being encouraged in several ways and accordingly several new editions of the work are seen in the market. Each one of these editions is aiming at giving the faithful interpretation of these text in as simple a way as possible. The edition under review contains a brief introduction wherein the author presents a short description of the different views on the *Gītā*, which he has come across during his travels throughout the country. His own view follows the Advaita School. He has explained the lines of the *Gītā* fully in the light of the *Yogasūtra* along with the extensive and all-embracing authority of the Vedic-scriptures. The author believes in the synthetic gradation in the various schools of Indian philosophy and does not find any antagonistic difference between the teachings of these schools, the Śrūtis and the *Gītā*.

The author has also given a faithful rendering of the verses in English and has added important and useful annotations wherever necessary. He has done a great service by publishing his views in this book. His notes are interesting and useful.

PRASTHANIK-TRYI OR THE THREE-FOLD VEDANT. By R. C. Vidyarthi, Gita Bhawan, Agra, 1944. Pages 682.

This is the first volume of the three *Prasthānas* and contains the Sanskrit text along with the English translation

of the twelve chief Upaniṣads—Īśa, Kena, Katha, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Śvetāśvatara, Praṣṇa, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Kauṣītakī, Chāndogya, and Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The next two volumes will contain the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahmasūtra*. It has also got a brief Introduction. The author has added explanatory notes on important and difficult passages and has given references to the *Gītā* and the *Brahmasūtra*, based on the Upaniṣads.

The Introduction briefly deals with the following subjects—Veda, Upaniṣad, Brahman, Jiva, World, the three paths after death, Past Karman, Creation and Dissolution, Action path and knowledge path, Gods and Demons.

It is a very useful effort and the author deserves encouragement so that he may bring out the other volumes. It is, however, strange that the author has translated the Upaniṣads and yet he does not appear to be quite accurate in his spelling of the Sanskrit words throughout the book. Even the very title of the book is wrongly spelt. As the author is going to present to the scholarly world other volumes, it would not be out of place to point out certain defective remarks from the book. It seems that he follows the view of Śaṅkarācārya in his interpretation. If it is so, it is doubtful how far he is correct in saying that “the liberated Self and Brahma become one and the same” (p. 6), “On release it (Jiva) merges and then becomes one and the same with Brahma” (p. 7). Again, “Jiva is neither separate from Brahma nor manifold”, etc.

The first two statements assert that the liberated self has got a separate existence which, later on, is lost in Brahman. But we know from the texts ‘तत्त्वमसि’, ‘सोऽहम्’ etc., that even during the state of bondage one should always think of the self (Jīva) as Brahman and nothing else. In fact, by liberation we should understand the realisation of the Absolute Brahman in the Jīva itself. Then, regarding the third statement we know that the Jīva, as long as it is in bondage,

is manifold due to nescience. Again, on page 8, the author says—"In the *Turīya* the Jiva is in the state of Samādhi and becomes one with the Supreme Self." We know from our studies that in Samādhi the Jiva does retain its individuality, though it is not apparently visible. Further, *Prārabdha* is not that *Karman* which is ready for operation (p. 11), but it is that which has begun its operation. There are similar other points which require a careful revision.

In spite of these, the translation is quite good and the appendices are very useful. The author should have used a particular method of transliteration. On the whole, it is a good addition to the existing literature.

ĀŚVALĀYANA GRHYA SŪTRA (Vol. I.-Adhyaya 1), with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Narāyaṇa. Edited by Swami Ravi Tirtha. Published by the Adyar Library, 1944. Pages xx + 220. Price Rs. 6-4-0.

This volume is No. 44 of the *Adyar Library Series*. It contains a Foreword by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and an introduction by the editor. The *Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* with the two commentaries had already appeared in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* serially from 1937 to 1941. The present volume contains only the first chapter. It is based on the MSS of the Adyar and other libraries. Other volumes will soon follow. It is also proposed to publish an English translation of the Sūtras with notes from the commentaries.

There are several commentaries on this Grhyasūtra. Recently the commentary of Haradatta has been published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The commentary of Devasvāmin is more important. The Adyar Library is to be congratulated for such a fine edition. The editor says in his Introduction while discussing the law of Karman,

"This law of Karma and of transmigration is not a philosophy of fatalism, where man is doomed till eternity by his starting

point. On the other hand, it is a philosophy of full freedom for the will of man, where even a God does not interfere. Man can get guidance and aid from God ; but God does not stop him or ruin him. At every particular movement, man can shape his future according to his will. It is this complete freedom of man's will that is at the root of the doctrine of Karma."

May I know, if at every particular moment man can shape his future according to his will, why should any one in the world remain unhappy ? It is a fact that no one likes misery though it is so very common, and if it were in man's power, he should have put an end to it for ever. But it is not the case. Again, if a man has complete freedom, what is the difference then between a man and a super-human being ?

Then again, the editor says—"According to ancient Indian law-givers there was no conflict between reform and orthodoxy." But it is a fact that our ancient law-givers did not find any such conflict only when the so-called reforms were not opposed to Śrutis and Smṛtis. They never made any confusion between a custom prevalent in a locality and a general law. Marriage with the daughter of one's maternal uncle was recognized only as a custom of a locality and not a law for the nation. We wish that the remarks of the editor should have been more thoughtful and considerate.

THE MĪMĀMSĀSĠOKAVĀRTTIKA with the commentary Kāṣikā of Sucarita Miśra, Pt. III. Edited by Mīmāmsakarātna, V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A., Honorary Director, University Manuscript Library, Trivandrum, 1943. Pages 47 + 36 + 23 + 237. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

The volume under review is No. CL. of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. Both the authors—Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Sucarita Miśra—are too well-known and need no intro-

duction. The editor has added critical introductions, both in English and Sanskrit, to this volume. He discusses the various topics of the *Tarkapāda*. If Pārthasārathi Miśra has, referred to Sucarita Miśra, as the editor thinks, then we should place Sucarita Misra earlier than the tenth century; for Pārthasārathi lived before Halāyudha, the court Pandit of Lakṣmaṇa Sen, who copied profusely from the *Śāstradīpikā* in his *Mīmāṃsāsāstrasarvasva*.

Except for the quality of paper, which is beyond one's control these days, the edition is a useful addition to the literature of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. The editor deserves our praise for his critical introduction and appendices.

ASSAMESE, ITS FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT. By Dr. Banikanta Kakati, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Government of Assam in the department of historical and antiquarian studies, Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute, Gauhati, Assam. 1941. Pages xxxii + 408.

This is a scientific treatise on the history and philology of the Assamese language, being a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Calcutta. It deals, as the title indicates, with the growth of the Assamese language, and the treatment of the subject has been carried out throughout on scientific lines. We welcome the book more for the reason that it shows clearly how distinct the Assamese language is from the languages of the neighbouring provinces and Dr. Kakati is to be congratulated for his successful attempt. The book is well-written and will be helpful to the study of other allied languages.

The author has traced the gradual growth of the Assamese language and has collected all possible materials from the Assamese sources to present and facilitate a comparative study of the language in its varied aspects. Though

this is the first attempt at a scientific study of this language, yet Dr. Kakati has tried to make his book as complete as possible. We learn, however, from various sources that the Assamese language was much influenced by Maithili in the beginning. While dealing with the growth of this language, it was very essential to show what was the nature of that influence. Otherwise, the book is quite interesting and useful. We wish that such books were written on each of the languages of the country.

BHAVARTHA RATNAKARA OF RAMANUJACHARYA, translated into English by B. V. Raman, Raman Publications. P.O. Malleswaram, Bangalore, 1944, Price Rs. 4-8.

This is the English translation with notes and charts of a small book on Astrology. There is no indication in the text to show that the author can be the great Vaiṣṇava teacher of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school as the translator is inclined to believe. The book is divided into 14 chapters. The treatment is extremely sketchy. One can hardly learn much astrology from such a book. The translator has attempted to increase its usefulness by adding illustrative horoscopes and explanatory notes on them. There is unnecessary verbosity in some of the notes, e.g., the whole of para 1 on page 46, trying to explain the difference between Veda and Vedānta is both unnecessary and inaccurate.

—K. CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY (four lectures) by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad 1944. Pages 107 with 27 Plates. Price Rs. 3.

This is a collection of the four lectures delivered by Dr. Hirananda Śāstrī before the Research and Post-graduate department of the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad.

In the first lecture Dr. Śāstri has enumerated the sources of Ancient Indian History and shown how Archaeology has been the main feeder of Ancient Indian historical studies.

Nālandā is the theme of the third lecture. The first part of the lecture contains a brief account of Nālandā from 500 B.C. to the 12th century A.C. while the second gives an idea of the present conditions of Nālandā. Dr. Śāstri believes 'that the name Nālandā is given to the place because of its being the giver or producer of *Nalas* or lotus—stalks' This etymology is doubtful. Strict grammar requires the form Nāladā, and not Nālandā. It is not safe to explain place-names through supposed etymology. When and how Nālandā perished is still a mystery. Dr. Śāstri seems to imply that Nālandā like the neighbouring Uddaupuri fell a victim to the savage bigotry and greed of Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyār Khalji (C. 1197 A.D.). The latest limit for the existence of Nālandā as a university centre is 750 A.D. But it probably existed up to the end of the 9th century (F. E. Keay—*Ancient Indian Education*). That Nālandā was subjected to a conflagration is evidenced not only by the debris but also by the inscription of Bālāditya. The record refers itself to the reign of Mahendrapaladeva, the Pratihāra King of Kanauj (890-908 A.D.).

The second lecture gives a bird's eye view of ancient sites of Gujarat, while the fourth discusses the sources of the cultural history of Gujarat. Dr. Śāstri's view that the custom of erecting Śīlā lashti (yashti) or Pāliyā, as they are called in Gujarat, was borrowed by the Hindus from the Śākas does not carry conviction. Such stones known as Viragal (or Virakkal in the south) are found even in the extreme south where there was never any Śaka penetration. Equally untenable is Dr. Śāstri's view that Ānartta was so called because it was inhabited by the Non-Aryans. There is no etymological connection between Ānartta and Anārya

or between Raivata and Ānarttā as assumed by Dr. Śāstrī. Dr. Śāstrī quotes from the Purāṇas references to drinking bouts and prevalence of wine in Western India in support of his view, as if wine was not known to the Aryans! Of course, no one can deny a large non-Aryan element in the population of Gujarat. But that is altogether a later story.

—GOVARDHAN RAI SHARMA.

RULES OF

The Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad

(Founded on November 17, 1943, and Registered under Act XXI of 1860 on January 12, 1945. Registration No. 118 of 1944-45).

NAME

1. The name of the INSTITUTE shall be "THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE", Allahabad, hereinafter called the 'INSTITUTE'.

OBJECTS

2. The objects of the INSTITUTE shall be as follows:—

- (1) To undertake, promote, encourage and foster research and investigation in Sanskrit and other Oriental languages,
- (2) To establish and maintain a library and a reading room,
- (3) To arrange papers, lectures, conferences and discussions on language, literature and culture,
- (4) To publish original texts and other works, including translations, journals, transactions and bibliographies,
- (5) To collect and preserve manuscripts and other materials bearing on Oriental studies and culture,
- (6) To make provision for scholarships, stipends, salaries, allowances, and other forms of remuneration,

- (7) To accept any bequest, gift, donation, subscription, and to collect funds and accumulate and provide endowments, and to invest the money and apply the income arising therefrom or to resort to the capital thereof for any of the objects of the Institute,
- (8) To purchase, hire, take on lease, exchange, accept any gift or otherwise acquire and hold temporarily or permanently for the advantage of the Institute, any immovable or movable property and to sell, let, mortgage or otherwise dispose of the same,
- (9) To borrow or raise money and to secure the repayment of any money borrowed or owing by mortgage, charge or lien,
- (10) To take all other steps as may be calculated to promote and be conducive to the attainment of the objects or any one of them.

MEMBERSHIP

3. The Institute shall consist of

(1) **Donors**, who shall be of four categories :—

- (i) *Patrons* shall be persons donating Rupees Twenty-five thousand or more, in cash or kind.
- (ii) *Vice-Patrons* shall be persons donating Rupees Five thousand or more, in cash or kind, but less than Rupees Twenty-five thousand.
- (iii) *Benefactors* shall be persons donating Rupees One thousand or more, in cash or kind, but less than Rupees Five thousand.
- (iv) *Associates* shall be those persons, who make gift of books, manuscripts or other articles and approved by the Executive Committee,

(2) **Members**, who shall be of four categories:—

- (i) *Honorary Members*, who shall be elected from amongst distinguished scholars, by at least two-third majority of votes of the Executive Committee after being duly proposed and seconded by two members, provided that the number of such members shall not at any time be more than twenty-five.
- (ii) *Ex-Officio Members* shall be the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, and the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board.
- (iii) *Nominated Members* shall be two, one of them shall be appointed by the United Provinces Government, and one shall be of the family of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., Vidyāsāgara, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland; the first representative being Captain Bhavanatha Jha, M.B., B.Sc., the present head of the family, who will have the right to nominate his successor, who, in his turn, will have the right to nominate his successor by a declaration *inter vivos* or by his will.

Note.—In the absence of any valid nomination, the Executive Committee shall be entitled to nominate a member of the family of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, to fill the vacancy and the person so nominated shall have the right to nominate his successor, thereafter as in 3 (2) (iii).

- (iv) *Ordinary Members* shall be those who pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10 a year, payable on the first day of January every

year, which may be compounded by payment of Rupees One Hundred and Forty within the course of a year, and thus become Life-Members.

Provided that persons desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member shall be nominated by one member and seconded by another, the nominating member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name and address, occupation or status. The nomination will be considered by the Executive Committee and the election shall be by a majority of votes.

4. The Donors and Members shall be entitled:

- (1) to attend all meetings of the General Council and to propose, second, and vote for any resolution consistent with the objects of the Institute,
- (2) to propose and second candidates for Ordinary membership,
- (3) to introduce visitors at the ordinary meetings of the General Council,
- (4) to get copies of the Journal of the Institute free of charge,
- (5) to get other publications of the Institute at such concession rates as may be fixed by the Executive Committee,
- (6) to use the Library and the Reading-room of the Institute on such conditions as the Executive Committee may lay down.

5. **Cessation or Removal of a Member or Donor**

- (1) A Nominated Member will cease to be a member as soon as another nomination has been made by the nominating authority, while an

Ordinary Member will cease, if he has not paid his subscription due from him and shall not be entitled to vote unless he has paid his subscription.

- (2) Any Member or Donor will be liable to removal if he is convicted of an offence involving moral turpitude or he has been declared an insolvent, or is otherwise found unfit by the General Council, but no Member or Donor can be removed unless three-fourth of the Members and Donors present in a meeting of the General Council specially convened for the purpose vote for the removal.

MANAGEMENT

6. **General Council**—The management of the affairs of the Institute shall vest in the General Council which shall consist of all the Donors and Members of all the four categories, and which shall be the ultimate authority of the Institute.

Among others, the General Council shall have the following powers :—

- (1) to lay down the general policy of the Institute and to direct the Executive Committee or such other Committees as it may appoint,
- (2) to elect office-bearers,
- (3) to appoint Executive Committee or such other Committees as it may deem fit and to make or frame Regulations and Bye-laws for the guidance of such Committees,
- (4) to consider, discuss and pass the Annual Report, estimates, statements of account, and the budget of the Institute,

- (5) to employ Writers, Editor, Librarian, Clerks, and other paid employees of the staff on such pay and conditions as it may deem proper, and to dismiss, remove, suspend, fine or otherwise punish any employee,
- (6) to erect, purchase, hire, rent or otherwise acquire lands and buildings,
- (7) to sell, mortgage, or charge any property,
- (8) to borrow money,
- (9) to invest and withdraw money from time to time,
- (10) to arrange for the purchase of books, manuscripts, exhibits, coins and other articles of literary and research work,
- (11) to arrange for the receipt, disbursal, and safe custody of money, stores, books, furniture and other property of the Institute,
- (12) to have general supervision over the affairs of the Institute,
- (13) to do any act in furtherance with the objects of the Institute,
- (14) to delegate any of the powers to the Executive Committee or to any other Committee framed by it,
- (15) to amend the articles of the Rules by convening Special Meeting for the purpose,
- (16) to frame Regulations for the use of the library and the reading-room or for any other purpose,
- (17) to appoint an auditor who shall not be a member of the Executive Committee,
- (18) to curtail or enlarge the powers of the Executive Committee given by these Rules.

7. Meetings of the General Council

The Meetings of the General Council shall be of four kinds:—

- (1) *The Annual General Meeting*, which shall be held annually at Allahabad, shall elect Office bearers for three years, shall consider the report of the work done during the year by the Institute as submitted by the Executive Committee, shall pass the annual accounts and the balance-sheet duly audited and the budget as recommended by the Executive Committee and shall consider such other resolution as may be brought before it.
- (2) *Ordinary General Meeting*, which may be held from time to time to transact ordinary business.
- (3) *Extra-Ordinary General Meeting*, which may be convened at any time by the President either on his own authority, or on a requisition signed by not less than twenty Members or Donors of the General Council.
- (4) *Special General Meeting*, which may be convened whenever required for the amendment of the Rules, but no change in the Rules shall be passed unless at least two-third of the members present vote for it.

8. **Notice of the Meetings**—No kind of meeting of the General Council shall be held unless twenty days notice thereof has been given. The notice shall be sent either by peon, or by post having obtained Certificate of Posting.

9. **Quorum of the General Council**—Fifteen Members and Donors shall form the quorum of the meeting.

OFFICE-BEARERS AND THEIR POWERS

10. The Office-bearers of the Institute shall be :—

- (1) President,
- (2, 3) Two Vice-Presidents,
- (4) Secretary and
- (5) Treasurer.

President

11. The President shall

- (1) exercise general supervision over the affairs of the Institute,
- (2) when present, preside over the meetings of the General Council and the Executive Committee,
- (3) cast a second vote in case of equality of votes,
- (4) convene Extra-ordinary General Meeting of the General Council.

The President may delegate all or any of his powers to a Vice-President.

Vice-president

12. In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected to take the Chair. The Vice-President shall exercise such powers as may be delegated to him by the President.

Secretary

13. The Secretary shall

- (1) keep a record of the proceedings of the meetings of the General Council, the Executive Committee, and other bodies, issue notice for the meetings, circulate the agenda among the Members and Donors, of the meetings and conduct correspondence of the Institute,

- (2) keep a roll of the Donors and the Members of the Institute and of the Office-bearers and of the Executive Committee,
- (3) see that all letters and papers and documents of every kind connected with the business of the Institute are properly filed, attended and preserved,
- (4) sign all the instruments, documents and papers on behalf of the Institute,
- (5) sign cheques and pass them to the Treasurer for counter-signature,
- (6) exercise general supervision over the employees of the Institute,
- (7) announce at the meetings the presents and donation made to the Institute since the last meetings, and shall read the names of the candidates for membership and any other important letter addressed to the Institute,
- (8) publish the journal and other publications,
- (9) have the right to be present at all meetings of the Committees and Sub-Committees,
- (10) in case of emergency, with the sanction of the President incur expenditure beyond the budget, up to Rs. 50 under a head,
- (11) keep up to Rupees one hundred in the imprest account, to meet the day to day expenses in accordance with the sanctioned budget,
- (12) to meet and be responsible for income and expenditure according to the budget,
- (13) to sue and defend cases on behalf of the Institute,
- (14) to prepare annual report of the progress of the Institute.

Treasurer

14. The Treasurer shall

- (1) receive all money on behalf of the Institute and issue receipts for them and deposit them in the Bank,
- (2) keep the accounts of the Institute and place them before the Executive Committee and the General Council,
- (3) keep or cause to be kept a stock book of the property of the Institute,
- (4) make payments and issue cheques signed by the Secretary, and withdraw money from the Banks, Treasuries, and Sub-Treasuries,
- (5) prepare the draft budget for the coming year in consultation with the Secretary for the approval of the Executive Committee,
- (6) have general supervision over the funds and finances of the Institute,
- (7) keep a cash book, a ledger and other necessary account books as directed by the Executive Committee showing a detailed account of all the incomes and expenditure of the Institute together with vouchers and get them duly audited annually by the auditor appointed by the General Council,
- (8) submit to the Executive Committee accounts counter-signed by the Secretary annually and to prepare the balance-sheet.

MONEY AND ACCOUNTS

15. A Reserved Fund of the Institute shall be maintained and shall be added to from time to time by reserving at least 25 per cent of all donations which are not ear-marked for any specific purpose, and also of all subscriptions except those received from the Ordinary Members of the

Institute. The balance shall be spent in such manner as may be determined by the General Council and the Executive Committee from time to time.

16. Monies and Funds belonging to the Institute shall be deposited in the Bank approved by the Executive Committee in the name of the Institute and may also be invested in such approved Security or Securities as the Executive Committee may determine, and may whenever necessary be withdrawn with the signature of the Treasurer and that of the Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

17. The day to day managements of the affairs of the Institute shall be entrusted to an Executive Committee, which will be its actual Governing body under the general supervision of the General Council, and it shall consist of all the office-bearers and such other members as may be elected by the General Council, *provided* that the number of the office-bearers shall not exceed that of non-office-bearers.

The present and the first Executive Committee shall consist of the following eleven members:—

Office-Bearers

- (1) *President* : The Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D., K.C.S.I., P.C., D.C.L., D.Litt.,
- (2-3) *Vice-Presidents* : (i) Dr. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.L., (ii) Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.,
- (4) *Secretary* : Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., D.Litt.,
- (5) *Treasurer* : Dr. A. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D.,

Members

- (6) Sir Padampat Singhania, Kt.,
- (7) Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.),

- (8) Professor R. D. Ranade, M.A.,
- (9) Dr. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.
- (10) Rai Bahadur Bhagwati Saran Singh.,
- (11) Pandit Kshetresachandra Chattopadhyaya, M.A.

Duties and Powers

18. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee
- (1) to administer the finances of the Institute,
 - (2) to acquire such lands, houses or building sites as may be required for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the Institute and to enter into any contracts for the said purpose on behalf of the Institute,
 - (3) to appoint Committees and Sub-Committees,
 - (4) to fill in by nomination *interim* vacancies in the Executive Committee,
 - (5) to prepare and submit for the approval of the General Council at the beginning of each year financial estimates for the year,
 - (6) to prepare and submit to the General Council a report of the year's work of the Institute in all the Departments,
 - (7) to draft Bye-laws for the guidance of Committees and Sub-Committees appointed by it, and to propose alterations in, or additions to, the Rules and Regulations framed by the General Council,
 - (8) to make appointments and sanction scholarships, salaries, allowances and all other forms of remunerations,
 - (9) to sanction purchase of books and manuscripts and such other articles as may be required for the maintenance of the library,
 - (10) to frame Bye-laws of the Institute in consonance with the Rules and Regulations for the proper

discharge of its own business and that of the employees, workers, office and the Departments under its control,

- (11) to elect Ordinary Members and to approve Associates of the Institute,
- (12) to undertake publications of the Institute,
- (13) to nominate Bank or Banks where accounts may be opened and authorise the Secretary to operate the accounts in conjunction with the Treasurer,
- (14) to exercise any other power that may be delegated to it by the General Council for the fulfilment of the aims and the objects of the Institute.

19. The quorum of the Executive Committee shall be five.

20. Ordinarily seven days' notice of the meeting shall be given, *provided* in case of emergency, it may be waived with the permission of the President.

GENERAL

21. In the event of there being no quorum at any of the meetings of the General Council or the Executive Committee the meetings shall stand adjourned to such other date as the Secretary may fix, of which due notice shall be given, and at such adjourned meeting no quorum shall be necessary, and the members present may proceed to dispose of all the business for the disposal of which the original meeting was convened.

22. All matters shall be decided by a majority of members present, unless otherwise provided by the Rules, but if for deciding any question, the President is of opinion that the votes of all the members of the Institute be taken, or at least twelve members of the Institute send an applica-

tion to that effect, the Secretary shall take the votes of all the members *by post*.

23. In the absence of the President and the Vice-Presidents the members present at any meeting may elect any one of them to preside at the meeting.

24. All property of the Institute shall be acquired and registered in the name of the Institute.

25. The Executive Committee may on all matters on which the above mentioned Rules are silent, frame such Bye-laws as may from time to time be found necessary. Such Bye-laws unless annulled at a General Meeting of the General Council shall have a binding effect.

26. Guests and visitors introduced by members of the Institute may attend its General meetings, but shall not have the right to vote.

27. Every proposal to be considered at a meeting of the General Council must be sent to the Secretary in writing at least ten days before the date of the meeting.

28. Every proposal shall be moved and seconded after which it shall be stated by the Chair and the discussion thereon shall then proceed.

29. (1) All amendments to a proposal which will not (a) reduce the proposal to a negative form; or (b) raise a question already decided by the General Council within the period of six months immediately preceding; or (c) be inconsistent with any resolution passed by the General Council within the period of six months immediately preceding, when duly proposed and seconded, shall be stated by the Chair and the discussion on the original proposal and the amendment thereto shall proceed *pari passu*, provided that only one proposal and one amendment thereto shall be entertained at the same time. (2) If any amendment is carried out, it shall become a part of the proposal and the proposal shall be modified accordingly.

30. All amendments to a proposal shall be given in clearly written terms to the Secretary at least before the proceedings of the meeting have commenced except in the case of such as may, in the opinion of the Chairman, arise out of the discussions. The Chairman shall determine the order in which these amendments are to be brought forward before the meetings; *provided* that a motion to refer a proposal to the Executive Committee or to the General Council shall not be considered as an amendment.

31. Every member of the Institute has a right to have a copy of a resolution of the General Council.

32. No member of the General Council as such shall have a right to inspect files, correspondence, and other records of the Institute without the permission of the Executive Committee.

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[Parts 2—3

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PĀṆINI : HIS LIFE AND WORK

By **VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA**

Pāṇini represents the characteristic scientific thought of ancient India. As remarked by Macdonell in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, "the results attained by the Indians in the systematic analysis of language surpass those arrived at by any other nation". Again : "Pāṇini may be regarded as the starting point of the Sanskrit age, the literature of which is almost entirely dominated by the linguistic standard stereotyped by him." His methodology, logic and the very apparatus of thinking have disciplined for ages Sanskrit authors of all classes. His grammar regulates equally the language of both poetry and prose in Sanskrit.

By his genius Pāṇini comprehended and superseded all his predecessors whose works have consequently been lost in oblivion. Of the older linguists, Yāska alone survives, and that because he was not directly a grammarian. His survival is due to the fact that his work lies in a different field, that of Vedāṅga etymology.

As Weber points out, Pāṇini's grammar is superior to all similar works of other countries, by the thoroughness with which it investigates the roots of a language and the formations of its words ; by its sharp precision of expression ; and above all by its "employment of an algebraic terminology of arbitrary contrivances, the several parts of which stand to each other in the closest harmony," and this

terminology is entirely adequate for explaining all the phenomena which the language presents, demonstrating "the marvellous ingenuity of its inventor and his profound penetration of the entire material of the language."

Pāṇini applies the inductive method in discovering and creating his own material in the spoken and living language of his day for purposes of evolving his grammatical system. This is shown, for example, by his rules applied to the accent, the lengthening of vowels in cases of calling ~~from~~ a distance, salutation, and in the case of questions and answers; or more specially in his survey of place-names and names for purposes of derivative formations which must have served an intensely practical need. There were also dialectic variations of Sanskrit in Pāṇini's time, when he mentions the peculiarities of the language spoken by the 'easterners' and the 'northerners.' Even Kātyāyana refers to variations of local dialects, while Patañjali mentions words peculiar to Janapadas or districts.

Considering the formative influence of Pāṇini's grammar on the development of Sanskrit language and literature in their various phases we can well understand why grammar is called the science of all sciences. Pāṇini's work is for all ages as far as Sanskrit is concerned.

His work is also unique in one respect, viz., that it is one of the rare masterpieces of Sanskrit literature which is the work of an individual author, and not of a school. According to Burnell, Pāṇini's grammar has, in all probability, been little tampered with; we have better warrant for its integrity than in the case of any other work (*Aindra School*, p. 31).

The credit of Pāṇini's work is also very much enhanced by its admitted antiquity.

On the whole, one may say that Pāṇini's grammar is related to Sanskrit like the tap-root of a tree, the source of its sap and vitality regulating its growth.

Pāṇini's *magnum opus*, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, is a code of Sanskrit grammar consisting of about 4,000 rules. He wrote in the sūtra style with admirable regard for economy of words. Although Kātyāyana after him also composed the vārttikas in the sūtra form, Pāṇinian commentators have applied the term *sūtrakāra* to Pāṇini only (*Pāṇineh sūtra-kāraṣya*, *Pat.* I. 414). He lived in an age when the sūtra style of literary expression was in full vogue. Patañjali speaks of Pāṇini adhering to sūtra style as the medium of teaching grammar (*vyākaraṇam sūtrayati*, II. 34). Previous writers may have been inclined to treat Vyākaraṇa as composed of rules as well as individual words (*lūkyalakṣaṇa*). But Patañjali tells us that Pāṇini's contribution was to formulate rules embodying linguistic phenomena and to build up a system, rather than pursue the arduous and lengthy process of taking each word separately (*na hi Pāṇininā śabdāḥ proktāḥ, kiṃ tarhi, sūtram*, I. 12). The title *śabdakāra* also designates Pāṇini, since grammar being primarily the science of words was itself known as *śabda*.¹ Another name given by Pāṇini to a grammarian is *śābdiku* on account of his authorship of *śabda* or grammar.²

Kātyāyana's Estimate.—Kātyāyana has been Pāṇini's ablest scientific critic. His own genius was of the highest order. He subjected Pāṇini's work to a searching examination, modifying and supplementing the sūtras, initiating discussions on contentious grammatical theories, sometimes in as many as fifty vārttikas, and at times justifying and defending Pāṇini against his critics. He has discharged his work with dignity and writes from a high pedestal and not as a detractor of Pāṇini. He has rather enhanced the depth and dignity of the Pāṇinian system by his own contribution. There is unfortunately a tradition current in India reinforced by fanciful stories that Kātyāyana was a

¹Cf. *Pāṇini* in I. 1. 68 and VIII. 3. 86, *śabda-samjñā*.

²IV. 4. 34, *śabdām karoti śābdikah*.

hostile judge of Pāṇini. The opinion is reiterated even by an eminent writer like Śābarasvāmin (*sadvāditvācca Pāṇiner-vacanāṁ pramāṇam, asadvāditvānna Kātyāyanasya*).³ Prof. Kielhorn for the first time set forth the true position of Kātyāyana in relation to Pāṇini, showing that it is a scientific blunder of the first magnitude to stigmatize Kātyāyana as an *unfair antagonist* of Pāṇini, and that the object which both had in view throughout their works was one and the same, the nature of their remarks being identical, ~~but~~ only differing in form.⁴ The dominant position of Pāṇini instead of being assailed emerges unimpaired in Kātyāyana's hands. At the end of his treatise his heart is full of sacred reverence for Pāṇini and he gives expression to it by concluding the vārttika sūtras in the following honorific and benedictory strain : भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (VIII. 4. 68).

Patañjali's Tribute.—Patañjali, author of the *Mahābhāṣya* or the Great Commentary on Pāṇini has used his gigantic literary powers to reveal the unfathomable depth of Pāṇini's mind. Living night and day in communion with him he must have been full of reverence for the great teacher. In the course of his commentary he expresses his estimate of Pāṇini in the following epithets :

(1) *Māṅgalika Ācārya* (I. 40; 253), an auspicious teacher who prefixed his treatise with such a lucky word as was destined to bring him eminent fame. There is no doubt about Pāṇini's good luck in the annals of human authorship. His work was greeted with universal approval as recorded by Patañjali :

Pāṇinīyam mahat suvhitam,⁵ 'Magnificently well-done is Pāṇini's work.' Pāṇini's popularity eclipsed and supplanted the earlier systems even in elementary stages of Sanskrit

³ *Mīmāṃsā Bhāṣya*, X. 8.1.

⁴ *Kātyāyana and Patañjali*, p. 53.

⁵ *Pat.* II. 285.

education. That his fame had permitted even the younger generation is known from an old remark quoted by Patañjali : *Ākumārāṃ yaśasī Pāṇineh*.⁶ The *Kāśikā* has preserved an old stock example stating that the name of Pāṇini shines all over the world—*Pāṇini-sabdah loke Prakāśate*.⁷

(2) *Pramāṇabhūta Ācārya* (I. 39), a teacher worthy of high authority. In the words of Patañjali, Pāṇini approached his task with a full sense of responsibility : 'Purified by the *kusa* grass held in hand, the Ācārya seated himself every morning facing the sun and took infinite pains in fashioning each sūtra. Not one syllable is purposeless there, much less can a whole sūtra be.'⁸ This authoritative conception later on became the pivot of the *Paribhāṣā* that the saving of half a mora is regarded by the grammarians as gladdening as the birth of a son.⁹ No doubt, Pāṇini aimed at conciseness, but this was not at the cost of distinctness. His logical and mnemotechnical principles were highly developed, but must have yielded perspicuous sense to his contemporaries.

(3) *Analpamati Ācārya*.—This phrase used in a śloka vārttika and explained by Patañjali I. 335 sums up the genius of Pāṇini, who was gifted with a most powerful mind. His capacious brain coped with the whole range of language and conquered its intricacies with superb masterliness.

(4) *Vṛttajña Ācārya* (I. 266). Pāṇini was conversant with the forms and grammatical operations (*vṛtta*) of words in the wide domain of language as it prevailed in the usage of the different countries, Vedic schools (*cāraṇas*), gotras, trades, professions and social grades. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is encyclopaedic in the registering of information from the current language of its time. We also learn from Hiuen

⁶I. 347.

⁷II. 1. 6.

⁸*Pat.* I. 39.

⁹*Paribhāṣendu*. CXXII.

Tsang that 'the Ṛṣi Pāṇini was from his birth extensively informed about men and things.'¹⁰

(5) *Sukṛt* (III. 121) and *Subṛt* (I. 208) are terms applied to Pāṇini in the *Bhāṣya*. Pāṇini's amiable disposition is reflected in his avoidance of extreme views and his insistence on the synthesis of conflicting theories. For example, it is well-known that Pāṇini took a balanced view in the matter of *ākṛti* and *vyākṛti* meanings (whether the word denotes a class or an individual) which later became the subject of strong controversy between Vājapyāyana and Vyādi.¹¹ It may, however, be remarked that Patañjali in spite of his uniform appreciation of Pāṇini, in one place accepts, although temporarily, a lapse in his style.¹²

But on the whole he concurs with Kātyāyana not only in his attitude towards but also in the homage paid to Pāṇini at the end of the *Bhāṣya* :

Bhagavataḥ Pāṇinerācāryasya siddham.

Name.—The author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is universally known as Pāṇini. Kātyāyana and Patañjali use this name. According to Baudhāyana Pāṇini is a gotra-name included amongst the Vatsa-Bhṛguś, having five *Pravaras*, viz. Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya. Pāṇini's own sūtra¹³ mentioning Paṇin is in support of Pāṇini being a gotra-name.

According to Kaiyaṭa a son of Paṇin was Pāṇina, and a *yuvan* descendant of his was Pāṇini.¹⁴

The *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa* and *Kalpadrakoṣa*, two later lexicons, mention Āhika, Śālanki, Dākṣiṣputra and Śālāturiyā as appellations of Pāṇini. We have no means to verify the correctness of the first two names. According to Weber the

¹⁰ *Siyuki*, I. 115.

¹¹ *Pat.* I. 242.

¹² *Pramādaśekharam ācāryasya*, II. 287.

¹³ VI. 4. 165.

¹⁴ *Pradīpa* on I. 1. 73. 6.

name Śālanki, which actually occurs in the *Bhāṣya*, though it does not clearly appear that Pāṇini is meant by it, leads us to the Vāhikas.¹⁵ It accords with the fact that Pāṇini was an Udīcyā. The last two names are well-known. Patañjali quotes a *kārikā* definitely mentioning Dākṣīputra as an epithet of Pāṇini,¹⁶ Dākṣī, a female descendant of the Dakṣa gotra, was the name of Pāṇini's mother, from which Dākṣeya became his metronymic.

That the Dakṣas probably were a clan organised as a *saṃgha* is apparent from the following examples in the *Kāśikā*: *Dākṣah, saṃghah Dākṣah ankaḥ, Dākṣam lakṣanam*.¹⁷ The *Kāśikā* also refers to a settlement of the Dakṣas (*Dākṣo ghoṣah*¹⁸) and as examples of the names of their villages are given Dākṣī-kūla and Dākṣī-karṣa¹⁹. The *Kāśikā* is citing here an old illustration, since Patañjali also mentions Dākṣīkarṣū as the name of a village an inhabitant of which was called *Dākṣīkarṣuka*.²⁰ But more important is the trend of the *Kāśikā's* discussion on Pāṇini II. 4. 20, *Samjñāyām kanthosīnareṣu*,²¹ which shows that Dākṣī-kanthā situated outside the geographical limits of the Uśīnara country was a northern town. According to Pāṇini Uśīnara formed part of Vāhika land. More definite evidence about the northern character of the Dakṣas comes from *Kāśikā's* comment on IV. 2. 113, where it is said that the Dakṣas belonged to outside the Prācyā-Bharata region.

Patañjali's interpretation of Prācyā-Bharata on Pāṇini II. 4. 66 shows that the Prācyā or eastern country extended from the region of Bharata or Kuru janapada (I.493).

¹⁵ *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 218.

¹⁶ *Dākṣīputrasya Pāṇineḥ*, I. 75.

¹⁷ IV. 3. 127.

¹⁸ IV. 3. 127.

¹⁹ VI. 2. 129.

²⁰ I. 294.

²¹ IV. 2. 117. 118.

Strictly speaking the Bharatas geographically formed part of the Prācyas. Proceeding from east to west the geographical regions traversed were the Prācyas, Bharatas, Uśīnaras, Madras and Udīcyas. The *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* enumerates the Udīcyas even after the Madras. The Uśīnaras and the Madras both were in the Vāhikas. The location of the Dākṣis placed by the *Kāśikā* beyond Prācyas-Bharatas and Uśīnaras, is therefore, pushed further north-west and must have been somewhere in Gandhāra which was the proper Udīcyas country. Pāṇini too belonged to Gandhāra, his birth-place Śālātura lay only a few miles north of the junction of the Kabul and the Indus rivers.

It is probable that the home of Dākṣi lay in the same region somewhere in the lower valley of the Kabul river, between Dakka and Attock.

Pāṇini's birth-place.—The name Śālāturiya reserves the tradition of Pāṇini's original home having been at Śālātura. The place-name Śālātura is as old as Pāṇini himself as he includes it in sūtra IV. ३. १५ and teaches the addition of the suffix *caṇ* to denote one whose ancestral home was there. Vardhamāna refers to Pāṇini by this appellation:—

शललतुरो नाम ग्रामः । सोऽभिजनोऽस्यास्तीतिशललतुरीयस्तत्र भवान् पाणिनिः ।²²

Bhāmaha and the Gupta inscriptions also use this synonym of the grammarian.

Hiuen Tsang visited Śālātura in the seventh century A. D. and found the Pāṇinian tradition still current there. He writes, "To the north-west of *U-to-kiā-han-c'bo*, 20 li, or so we come to the town of *P'o-ls-tu-lo*. This is the place where the Rishi Pāṇini, who composed the *Ching-ming-lun* (*Śabda-Vidyā*) was born."²³ Śālātura which had the distinction of being the birth-place of the world's greatest grammarian, has been correctly identified by

²²*Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, Commentary on verse 2.

²³Beal's *Siyuki*, I. 114; also the foot-note saying that the symbol *p'o* is for *so*.

Cunningham with Lāhur a small town exactly four miles north-west of Ohind.²¹ It may be approached from Jahangira station of the N.-W. Ry. on the right bank of the Attock bridge from where it is at a distance of about 12 miles. Buses ply from Mardan to Ohind on the Indus pass by the village of Lāhur.²⁵

For about five hundred years Śālātura continued as a centre of Pāṇinian studies. "The children of this town, who are his (Pāṇini's) disciples, fevere his eminent qualities, and a statue erected to his memory still exists."²⁶ Hiuen Tsang's reference to a story of an Arhat returning from Kaṇṣka's Buddhist Council and admonishing a Brahmin of Śālātura teaching Pāṇini's grammar for his pursuit of heretical sāstras, seems to contain a veiled historical allusion to "the driving out (or conversion) of the Pāṇiniya school from Śālātura and the substitution of Buddhist wisdom instead."²⁷

Tradition about Pāṇini's Life

The Indian tradition about Pāṇini is embodied in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* of Somadeva (11th century A. D.) and the *Brhat-kathāmāñjarī* of Kṣemendra (11th century) both of which are based on the original *Brhat-kathā* of Guṇādhya. It says that Pāṇini was a pupil of the teacher

²⁴ *Ancient Geog.* pp. 66-7; *ASR.*, II.95.

²⁵ A Kharoṣṭhi inscription now, preserved in the Lahore Museum and dated in the Kuśāṇa year 40 was found at Shakardarra near Campbellapore. It mentions the boat-ferry of Sala (*Śala-nokrma*, Sten Konow, *Corpus of Kharoṣṭhi Ins.* II. p. 160, which once plying from the eastern bank of the Indus seems to have derived its name from the town of Śālātura situated on the opposite side at some distance from the river. The name Shakardarra may be derived from Śakradvāra meaning the 'entrance from the east.'

There are several high mounds at Lahur. Recent excavations at one of them by Madam Corbeau brought to light some stucco Buddhist heads and Gandhara terracottas. A colossal image now preserved in the Peshawar museum was also previously brought from one of these mounds. I am indebted for this informations to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Ex-Director-General of Archaeology.

²⁶ *Synke*, I. 116.

²⁷ H. Skold, *Papers on Pāṇini* p. 52.

Varṣa. He lacked in mental powers and lagged behind in studies. Withdrawing for a time from school to the Himalayan seclusion he performed *tapas* and pleased Śiva by whom was revealed to him a new system of grammar. (*vyākaraṇaṁ navam*). His rival was Kātyāyana whom he finally overcame by display of superior powers. His grammar eventually replaced the older Aindra treatise and the celebrated teacher became a friend of the Nanda emperor. This is the main outline of Pāṇini's traditional life story.

There is a striking similarity between the outstanding features of this legend and the account given by Hiuen Tsang as we shall presently examine.

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.—The quasi-historical Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* (C. 800 A. D.) also throws light on Pāṇini and his patron. "After him (Śūrasena) there will be king Nanda at Puṣpa-City In the capital of the Magadha-residents there will be Brahman controversialists (*Brāhmaṇās-tārṅikā bhūvi*, verse 425) . . . and the king will be surrounded by them. The king will give them riches His minister was a Buddhist Brahmin Vararuchi who was of high soul, kind and good . . . His great friend was a Brahmin, Pāṇini by name."²⁸

What we notice here is the fact recorded also in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, of Pāṇini's connections with the court of Pāṭaliputra.

Rajaśekhara.—The above tradition finds strong support from the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rajaśekhara (900 A. D.):

भूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा ।

अत्रोपवर्षवर्षाविह पाणिनिपिंगलाविह व्याडिः ।

वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः ।

"There existed in olden days at Pāṭaliputra, the *Sāstrakāra-parīkṣā*, a synod to test the makers of scientific treatises. Upavarṣa and Varṣa, Pāṇini and Pīṅgala, Vyāḍi, Vararuci and Patañjali showed their skill in this test and attained dis-

²⁸ Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 14.

inction.' Here is a literary history of several centuries. Upavarṣa was an ancient writer on Mīmāṃsā. His views about *śabda* are preserved to us in a citation of Śaṅkarācārya who refers to him as *Bhagavān* (I. 3. 28). Varṣa, his brother, is said to have been Pāṇini's teacher. Pāṇini was the distinguished author of the 'new grammar' which he must have presented to the judgment of this august assembly. Piṅgala author of the *Chandovicitī*, a work referred to in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* of IV. 3.73, is spoken of as Pāṇini's younger brother by Ṣadguruśiṣya in the *Vedārthadīpikā* commentary (*Piṅgalena Pāṇinyanuṣṭhena*). Vyāḍi, the author of the *San-graha* a respectable work on grammatical science and highly spoken of in the *Bhāṣya*,²⁹ was a junior contemporary of Pāṇini. Vyāḍi wrote his *Sangraha* in the sūtra style as is evident from Patañjali's reference to students called *Sangraha-sūtrikāḥ*.³⁰ Kātyāyana and Patañjali are well-known figures whose treatises have merited the highest praise. Thus, the names in Rājaśekhara's list appear to have been mentioned in a chronological order.

Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śunga (C. 180 B. C.) and an interval of at least two centuries must have intervened between him and Pāṇini.

Testimony of Hiuen Tsang.—Most of the traditions recorded above about Pāṇini find surprising corroboration from a foreign source, viz., the writings of Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese traveller visited Śālatura in person and the information collected by him on the spot is to be regarded as specially valuable and trustworthy, particularly on points where Somadeva, Rājaśekhara, *Māñjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the Chinese traveller are in substantial agreement. What is very surprising is that Hiuen Tsang's account in

²⁹Cf. Patañjali on the meaning of *śabda* having been decided in the *Sangraha*, I. 6; also *Sobhanā Khalu Dākṣyaṇasya Sangrabasya kṛtib*, I. 468.

³⁰Those who study the *Sangrabhasūtras*, IV, 2, 60; II, 294.

respect of three things, viz., the origin of grammar, Pāṇini's eminent qualities and his literary method, can be traced back to Patañjali himself.

Having stated that Ṛṣi Pāṇini who composed the Śabda-vidyā was born at Śālātura, Hiuen Tsang proceeds to say :

'Referring to the most ancient times, letters were very numerous; but when, in the process of ages, the world was destroyed and remained as void, the Devas of long life descended spiritually to guide the people. Such was the origin of the ancient letters and composition. From this time and after it the source (language) spread and passed its (former) bounds. Brahmadeva and Śakra (Devendra) established rules (forms or examples) according to the requirements. Rishis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters. Men in their successive generations put into use what had been delivered to them; but nevertheless students without ability were unable to make use (of these characters). And now men's lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years, when the Rishi Pāṇini was born; he was from his birth extensively informed about things (men and things). The times being dull and careless, he wished to reform the vague and false rules (of writing and speaking)—to fix the rules and correct improprieties. As he wandered about asking for right ways (or wisdom and knowledge), he encountered Īśvara Deva, and recounted to him the plan of his undertaking. Īśvara Deva said, "Wonderful, I will assist you in this." The Rishi, having received instruction, retired. He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power of mind. He collected a multitude of words, and made a book on letters which contained a thousand ślokas; each śloka was of thirty-two syllables. It contained every thing known from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words. He then closed it and sent it to the king (supreme ruler), who exceedingly prized it, and issued an edict that throughout the kingdom it should be used and taught to others; and he added that whoever should learn it from beginning to end should receive as his reward a thousand pieces of gold. And so from the time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world. Hence the Brahmanas of this town are well grounded in their literary work, and are of high renown for their talents, well informed as to things (men and things), and of a vigorous understanding.'³¹

³¹ *Siyuki*, pp. 114-115.

We must now see how far these details are confirmed by the tradition embodied in Patañjali and other writers :

(1) *Origin of Ancient Letters*.—This accords with the tradition almost universal in India about the divine origin of the different sâstras and the spiritual guidance received from above in the propagation of knowledge. Patañjali refers to the period of a thousand divine years (*divya varṣa-sahasra*) during which time Bṛhaspati expounded ancient letters (*śabda-pārāyaṇam provāca*) to his divine pupil Indra. The science of Āyurveda also records its revelation by Indra to Bhāradvāja in the form as it was originally known to Brahmā.³²

(2) *Growth of Literature*.—"From this time . . the source (of language) spread and passed its former (bounds)".³³ Patañjali's account of the vast expansion of language after the first impulse to it was received from divine revelation is a piece of poetic brilliance. He writes :

सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती त्रयो लोकाश्चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना
एकशतमध्वर्युं शाखाः सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं नवधायवर्णो वेदो
वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकम्—इत्येतावाऽशब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः।³⁴

'There is the wide world, its rich literature includes the four Vedas with their Aṅgas and mystic portions, their ramifications into 101 sâkhās of the *Yajurveda*, 1000 of *Sāmaveda*, 21 of *Rgveda* and 9 of *Atharvaveda*, the Dialogue portions, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Vaidyaka treatises, all this constitutes the vast source of language.' This tallies with the spirit of what Hiuen Tsang has recorded. Even before the time of Pāṇini the development of Sanskrit literature had reached a stage of considerable advancement, as we see in the names of works and classes of literature referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

(3) *Reference to Aindra System*.—Brahma Deva and Śakra established rules (forms or examples) 'according

³² *Caraka*, sūtrasthāna, I. 23-24.

³³ Hiuen Tsang.

³⁴ *Bhāṣya*, I. 9.

to the requirements.³⁵ The tradition of an Aindra grammar prior to Pāṇini is very strong in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* where it is said that the gods approached Indra to elucidate speech (*vācam vyākuru*) for them.³⁶ Patañjali speaks of Bṛhaspati expounding to Indra the words by means of individual forms or *examples*.³⁷ Tārānātha (1608 A. D.) states that though it is said in Tibet that the Indra Vyākaraṇa is earlier, this must be held of the region of the gods, and not of Āryadeśa.³⁸ The tradition in the *Ṛkstantra*, a Prātiśākhya work of the *Sāmaveda* is more to the point. 'Brahmā taught Bṛhaspati; Bṛhaspati taught Indra; Indra taught Bhāradvāja, and from him the system devolved on the Ṛṣis.'³⁹ Brahmā as Prajāpati is the ultimate source of knowledge. Indra represents the divine agency. The school of Bṛhaspati was continued through his descendant Bhāradvāja who initiated other teachers into the system. There certainly existed a Bhāradvāja school of grammar. Pāṇini himself quotes the authority of the grammarian Bhāradvāja.⁴⁰ Patañjali frequently quotes the vārtikas of the Bhāradvājiyas (followers of the Bhāradvāja system as the Pāṇinīyas were of Pāṇini) as giving a version differing from Kātyāyana.⁴¹ The *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* which is substantially anterior to Pāṇini also refers to Bhāradvāja, whom we may regard as an adherent of the earlier Aindra system. The legendary accounts of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī* also mention that it was the Aindra school which was supplanted by Pāṇini's work.

³⁵ Hiuen Tsang.

³⁶ Quoted by Sāyaṇa in the *Intro. to Rg.*, Vol. I. p. 35; also in the *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara*, I. 3.9.

³⁷ *Pratīpadoktānām śabdānām*, I. 5; almost literally rendered by Hiuen Tsang.

³⁸ *History of Buddhism*, p. 54.

³⁹ *Ṛkstantra*, Dr. Suryakant's edition, p. 3.

⁴⁰ VII. 2, 63.

⁴¹ II. 46; 70, etc..

(4) *Different Schools before Pāṇini*.—‘Rṣis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters’.⁴² This refers to the intense literary activity about words and language preceding Pāṇini in which hundreds of teachers including such illustrious names as Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya, Yāska, Śaunaka, Śākalya, Āpiśali, Audavraji, etc., participated. Burnell’s list of teachers from Nirukta, Pāṇini and the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*⁴³ as well as the extant remnants of the Carāṇa literature and the numerous phonetic treatises (Śikṣās) still available point to the intellectual ferment which brought into being the mighty system of Pāṇini’s grammar.

(5) *Comparative Decay of Grammatical Studie*.—‘Men in their successive generations put into use what had been delivered to them. And now men’s lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years’ . . . ‘The times being dull and careless’.⁴⁴ Patañjali says the same thing when he refers to *purākalpa* (the bygone ages) when keen Brahmanical pupils devoted themselves first to master Vyākaraṇa, and then took up the study of Veda. But in a subsequent epoch students devoted less attention to grammar, they even considered it useless (*anarthakam vyākaraṇam*). It was to reform such dull and careless beings that Pāṇini wrote his system.⁴⁵ As to the lessening of men’s lives to a hundred years, Hiuen Tsang is almost literally rendering Patañjali’s remark : किम् पुनरद्यत्र ये यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति । ‘What to say of the present times when one hundred is the maximum limit of men’s lives.’

‘Pāṇini’s object was to fix the rules and correct improprieties’.⁴⁶ His treatise has been referred to by Kātyāyana as

⁴²Hiuen Tsang.

⁴³*Aindra School*, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁴Hiuen Tsang.

⁴⁵*Vipratipanna-buddhibhyo’ dhyetṛbhyā ācārya idam sāstram anvācāṣṭe* Pt. I. 5.

⁴⁶Hiuen Tsang.

sādhvanuśāsana śāstra 'the book of correct instruction'.⁴⁷ May it not contain an allusion to Pāṇini ministering to the standard form of speech or what Patañjali terms the language of the Śiṣṭas?

(6) *Pāṇini's Method*.—Pāṇini was from his birth extensively informed about men and things. He wandered about asking for knowledge. He collected a multitude of words.⁴⁸ A patient study of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* convinces us of the fact that Pāṇini chartered extensive sources for the collection of his material. He made such very minute observations as, for example, differences in the accentuation of names of wells situated on the right and left banks of this river Beas. This minute enquiry of Pāṇini evoked the pertinent remark from the author of the *Kāśikā*—'The Sūtakāra was endowed with extremely penetrating vision.'⁴⁹

Pāṇini's extensive peregrinations in search of fresh material and the method of personal discussion and interrogation which he followed to elicit facts were in the true tradition of the University of Takṣaśilā. We have a graphic account in Buddhist literature how the royal physician Jīvaka was trained by his teacher to accumulate facts of plant botany by undertaking an exhaustive survey of the area round about the university. Born at Śālatura Pāṇini must have been trained under the intellectual discipline of Takṣaśilā which was a world-reputed centre of higher education in the age of the Buddha.

(7) *Pāṇini and Maheśvara*.—The element of Maheśvara's aid to Pāṇini is known to Somadeva, but Hiuen Tsang's version of it is much more rational. The information that Pāṇini possessed a well-conceived 'plan of his undertaking' which was highly approved of by Īśvara.

⁴⁷ *Vārttika* I. 1.44. 143; I.104.

⁴⁸ Hiuen Tsang.

⁴⁹ महती सुश्लेषिका वर्तते सूत्रकारस्य, IV, 2, 74.

is of great importance. The contact with Īśvara Deva may indicate the traditional divine help received in all pious undertakings. But the essence is found in this sentence. 'The Ṛṣi having received instruction, retired.' It points to the period of Pāṇini's intense intellectual labour marked with concentration and withdrawal to quiet surroundings, as Patañjali has also observed (*śucau avakāṣe*, etc.).

(8) *Pāṇini's Effort*.—'He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power of mind,' which is almost a literal translation of Patañjali's remark about Pāṇini taking great pains in formulating his system :

प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः महतायत्नेन सूत्रं प्रणयति स्म ।⁵⁰

Who can doubt that Pāṇini endowed with all great mental power must have put forth supreme effort to produce a work so stupendous as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*?

(9) *Pāṇini's Mental Powers*.—Hiuen Tsang speaks of Pāṇini's spirit and wisdom, and of his vigorous mind which he devoted to investigate worldly literature.⁵¹ We have already spoken of Patañjali's tribute to Pāṇini as *anālpamati ācārya*, explained by Kaiyaṭa as *medhāvī*, i.e., of great understanding and memory. We must therefore confidently dismiss the childish story of Pāṇini being a dunce at school. As observed by Sköld, Hiuen Tsang's statement was no doubt founded on the unbroken tradition in Śālistura of his times.⁵²

(9) *Extent of Pāṇini's Work*.—Pāṇini made a book on letters which contained a thousand *ślokas*; each *śloka* was of thirty-two syllables.⁵³ It expresses the actual extent of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consisting of 3981 sūtras plus 14 Pratyāhāra sūtras, as computed by the *śloka* measure of 32 syllables each. Sköld has fallen into an error by this statement. He writes :

⁵⁰ *Bhāṣya* I. 39.

⁵¹ *Sīyukī*; I. 116.

⁵² *Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 48.

⁵³ Hiuen Tsang.

'This curious statement can hardly be interpreted in another way than by assuming, that the work of Pāṇini, just as so many other Indian works on grammar, was originally written in metrical form.'⁵⁴ This is a very puerile inference. As a matter of fact, hardly any Indian grammar, Sanskrit or Prakrit, is in metrical form. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from its inception was in the sūtra style, it is a product of the sūtra age of literary style, and its bulk *ab initio* was about 1,000 ślokas, *as it is today*. The statement is akin to the computation of Vyādi's *Sangraha*, which was also in sūtras, as *lakṣa-slokātmaka*. *Kāśikā* on IV, 2.65 says that not only Pāṇini's work, but those of Kāśakṛtsna and Vyāghrapāda also were in sūtra style (*Duṣakab Vaiyābra-paṭīyah; Trikab Kāśakṛtsnal*). Even upto a late period all Indian grammars were written in sūtra form.

(10) *A Complete Digest*.—'It contained everything known from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words.'⁵⁵ Pāṇini's book considered a compendious treatise,⁵⁶ must have impressed men from the very beginning by its all comprehensive nature. According to Patañjali, Pāṇini's work was connected with all the Vedic schools, सर्ववेदपरिषदं ह्रीदं शास्त्रम्, suggesting that Pāṇini had brought together in his treatise the phonetical and grammatical material relating to all the different Vedic schools.

Burnell rightly argues that for the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to have gained such a position of authority, 'it must have been vastly superior in the eyes of the Brahmanas to all the numerous treatises which must have been in existence before Pāṇini's time.'⁵⁷ Pawate has recently raised the problem of Pāṇini's borrowings,⁵⁸ but the question needs more thorough investigation. We find in the *Rktaṇtra*, a Sāma-Prātiśākhya

⁵⁴ *Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 32.

⁵⁵ Hiuen Tsang.

⁵⁶ *Mahat sāstraṅgha*, Pat. I. 40; also *Pāṇinīyam mahat*, II. 285.

⁵⁷ *Aindra School*, p. 38.

⁵⁸ *Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī* by I. S. Pawate, Hubli.

which Dr. Surya Kant attributes to Audavraji, some of Pāṇini's sūtras almost *verbatim*.⁵⁹

(11) *Pāṇini and Pāṭaliputra*.—‘He then closed it and sent it to the king (supreme ruler), who exceedingly prized it.’⁶⁰ The *Maṇḍuśrīmūlakalpa*, Somadeva and Tārānātha all relate the story of Pāṇini's friendship with one of the Nanda kings. Rājasekhara records a tradition, already referred to, showing Pāṇini's connection with Pāṭaliputra. It is very likely that Pāṇini visited Pāṭaliputra in person to participate in the *Śāstrakāra* examination rather than send his book through an emissary. Pāṭaliputra held a pre-eminent position in the literary life of the nation during the Maurya and Nanda periods. Cāṇakya, a resident of the distant North-west like Pāṇini himself and nurtured in the glorious traditions of the Takṣaśilā school, also visited Pāṭaliputra. The *Atthapakāsinī* commentary of the Sinhalese *Mahāvamsa* narrating the early life of Cāṇakya relates how during the course of his intellectual career to establish his reputation he was attracted to Pāṭaliputra. (‘बाबं पयस्सतो पुष्कपुरं गन्त्वा’)⁶¹

Pāṇini's mission to the celebrated capital of the Prācyā country was more or less of the same nature, viz., to submit his work to the critical judgment of the best learned men of his time.

The Great Synod.—Besides the Sinhalese tradition we also have the reliable testimony of the Greek authors who have mentioned the annual intellectual assemblies held at Pāṭaliputra. According to Megasthenes the Brahmanas “are employed publicly by kings at what is called the *Great Synod* where at the beginning of the new year, all the philosophers are gathered together, and any philosopher *who*

⁵⁹Cf. *Rkṣtantra*, sūtras 195-218.

⁶⁰Hüen Tsang.

⁶¹I owe this reference to Prof. C. D. Chatterji, M.A., of the Lucknow University.

may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declare it publicly.”⁶² Diodorus in his epitome of Megasthenes also refers to these distinguished gatherings at the beginning of each new year in which the learned men participated and the sovereign of the land acted as patron.⁶³ These statements not only confirm the Sanskrit and Pali accounts but also help us to fix the name and the time of the assembly, and warrant us to infer that it must have been an old institution in the capital of the empire. Rājasekhara’s *Śāstrakāra parīkṣā* corresponds closely to the functions of the Great Synod described by Megasthenes who also records the time of its annual sessions. राजसभा was the word for these royal academies as noted by Pāṇini (सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा). Their name and fame reverberated through the corridors of time, as we see from Patañjali making reference to the Sabhā of two great emperors, viz., चन्द्रगुप्तसभा, पुष्यमित्रसभा.

(12) *Recognition of learning* — Scholars adjusted by these synods and distinguished publicity for producing a scientific contribution that was ‘committed to writing’ and which either promoted public interest or was conducive to general welfare, deserved to be adequately recognised and rewarded. The honorarium sometimes consisted of freedom from paying public taxes: “He who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.”⁶⁴ Speaking in general of the learned Brāhmaṇas it is said that, “in requital of their services they receive valuable gifts and privileges.”⁶⁵ We may here consider a suggestive word from Patañjali, viz., *sābhāsannayanah*, ‘arising from the honour

⁶² Strabo, XV. 1; Mc Crindle’s *Megasthenes*, Frag. XXXIII.

⁶³ Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, Frag. I, p. 39.

⁶⁴ *Meg.* Frag. XXXIII.

⁶⁵ *Diodorus*, Frag. I. p. 38.

received in a *Sabhā*,⁶⁶ which refers to something resulting from proficiency shown at a *Sabhā* of this type. We have the authority of Pāṇini himself to construe *sannayana* in the sense of *sammānana*,⁶⁷ i.e., distinction secured in respect of a Śāstra by means of vindicatory exposition.⁶⁸ Hiuen Tsang speaks of a thousand pieces of gold as the declared royal prize received by one who mastered the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from beginning to end. Perhaps one of Pāṇini's rules can be better understood by being interpreted against this background. The Sūtra, सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे,⁶⁹ is based on a customary payment of this nature called *dharmya* and speaks of its recipient as *bārin*, one who takes away the *dharmya* prize (*ācāra-niyata deyam yab svikaroti*, *Kāśikā*). The rule prescribes acute accent on the first syllable of the recipient—denoting word. One of the illustrations to this rule cited by Patañjali makes the grammarian (*vaiyākaraṇa*) a winner (*bārin*) and speaks of an elephant as his customary prize.⁷⁰ The payment of an elephant as the prize money could have originated naturally in east India. We may recall in this connection the mention by Kauṭilya of Prācyā as the country which supplied the best elephants⁷¹ and compare the statement ascribed to Megasthenes⁷² that the largest elephants in all the land were those called the *Praisian*. We do not know if the *Vaiyākaraṇa hastī* was equal in value to one thousand pieces of gold which, according to Hiuen Tsang, a grammarian received as his fixed reward. Kauṭilya, surprisingly, gives the same figure but in silver currency: "Learned men

⁶⁶I. 1. 73; I. 189.

⁶⁷I. 3. 36.

⁶⁸cf. *Kāśikā*, शास्त्रे पदार्थान् नयते, उपपत्तिभिः स्थिरीकृत्य शिष्येभ्यः प्रापयति, ते युक्तिभिः स्थापयमानाः सम्मानिताः पूजिता भवन्ति ।

⁶⁹VI. 2. 65.

⁷⁰*Kāśikā* VI. 2. 65, *Bhāṣya*, III. 130, वैयाकरणस्तु

⁷¹*Arth.* II. 2, p. 50.

⁷²Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, Meg. p. 118.

(*vidyāvantaḥ*) shall have honorarium (*pūjā-vetana*) ranging from 500 to 1,000 *paṇas* according to their merit.⁷³

The above analysis of Hiuen Tsang's testimony recorded on the spot in Śālātura of his times leads us to the belief that the main outline of Pāṇini's life and literary career as incorporated in it represent a substantial element of historical truth.

Pāṇini as a Poet.—The tradition of Pāṇini the poet is strong in Sanskrit anthologies which claim to quote his verses. A verse in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* refers to Dākaṣiputra as a poet. The available information with regard to the poet Pāṇini is put together by Pischel, who is inclined to accept the identity of the grammarian and the poet. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, holds that the style in which the verses ascribed to Pāṇini are written is sufficient to prove that they cannot be by that grammarian.⁷⁴ Prof. Kshitis Chandra Chatterji after discussing at length all the known verses assigned to Pāṇini⁷⁵ dismisses the theory of his authorship in these words :

"The fact that Pāṇini as a poet is nowhere mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* or in any of the later first-rate works of the Pāṇini school and that annotators and commentators have racked their brains to explain away ungrammatical forms instead of regarding the uses in the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* as *jñāpakas*, that some of the verses attributed to Pāṇini in one anthology are attributed to other poets in others, that some of these verses show distinct traces of borrowings of a much later period, that none of the verses not belonging to the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* bear the stamp of the grammarian on them, that some of them contain forms which would make Pāṇini shudder and that some of them seem to be composed as examples for a work on rhetoric of a much later period,

⁷³ *Artb.* V. 3; p. 248.

⁷⁴ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, p. 344.

⁷⁵ *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXIX pp. 95 and ff..

clearly indicate that the verses cannot have been the work of poet Pāṇini. The *Jāmbavatīvijaya Kāvya* or the *Pātālaviijaya Kāvya* must have been composed by a poetaster of about the ninth century A. D. who made use of many peculiar grammatical forms in it and fathered it on Pāṇini, the great grammarian.”⁷⁶

We must, however, draw attention to one very important fact. In a *kārikā* in the *Bhāṣya* the epithet *kavi* is used for Pāṇini :—

तदकीर्तितमाचरितं कविना⁷⁷

The *Kāśikā* translates *kavi* as *sūtrakāra* a designation applied only to Pāṇini. Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa understand *kavi* differently, not a poet but a *medhāvī* or genius, although according to them also none else but Pāṇini is meant. There is no parallel in the history of Sanskrit literature where the title of *kavi* has been conferred on the writer of a scientific treatise, howsoever great a genius he might be. Unfortunately, the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* is a lost poem, perhaps lost for ever. But reference to its story viz., the marriage of Jāmbavatī with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is found in the *Mahāummaga Jātaka*, one of the oldest portions of the Pali literature. More than this we cannot safely postulate about Pāṇini the poet.

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYI

(i) Its Names.—The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is variously referred to as *Aṣṭaka*,⁷⁸ *Pāṇiniya*,⁷⁹ or *Vṛttisūtra*.⁸⁰ In the illustrations to several sūtras, viz., II. 4. 21, IV. 3. 115 and VI. 2. 14, *Kāśikā* speaks of the Pāṇiniya system as an *Akālaka* grammar (*Pāṇinyu-pajñam akālakaṁ vyākaraṇam*). The name is significant as showing that Pāṇini wisely eschewed the discussion of *kāla*

⁷⁶ *Cal. Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 22-23; also p. 135.

⁷⁷ I. 4. 50; I. 334.

⁷⁸ *aṣṭau adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya*, V. 1. 58.

⁷⁹ *Pāṇininī proktam*, IV. 3. 101.

⁸⁰ *Bhāṣya* I. 371 differentiating *Vṛttisūtra* from *vārttika*.

or tenses like *Parokṣa*,⁸¹ and *īartamāni*⁸² on the exact definition of which hair-splitting arguments were often advanced, e.g., some say *Parokṣa* means the lapse of a century; others say that which is hidden from the eye of the visitor is *Parokṣa*; still others contend that an interval of two to three days constitutes *Parokṣa*.⁸³ Pāṇini took a common sense view in the matter as indeed in all extreme controversies. In the very important sūtra-kāṇḍa,⁸⁴ he lays down that a grammarian need not canonize details about the *Kāla* or time and tense durations, since he must depend on the usage of the day for all such information. This view of Pāṇini emphatically expressed in the sūtra '*Kālopasarjane ca tulyam*,'⁸⁵ must have been responsible for the epithet *Akālaka* applied to his treatise from the very beginning.

(ii) *Text*.—The text of the sūtras has come down to us almost intact.⁸⁶ The sūtras were committed to memory and according to Hiuen Tsang handed down through a succession of teachers: "And so from that time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world."⁸⁷ According to the author of the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consists of 3,995 sūtras, i.e., 3,981 sūtras plus the 14 *pratyāhāra* sūtras:⁸⁸

चतुःसहस्रो सूत्राणां पञ्चसूत्रविजिता ।

अष्टाध्यायी पाणिनीया सूत्रैश्चतुर्विधैः सह ॥⁸⁹

Bothlingk's critical edition contains 3,983 sūtras and Taranath Tarkavachaspati's *Siddhāntakaumudī* shows 3,965

⁸¹ *Bhāṣya*, II. 120.

⁸² *Bhāṣya*, II. 123.

⁸³ *Bhāṣya*, II. 120.

⁸⁴ I. 2. 51-57.

⁸⁵ I. 2, 37.

⁸⁶ Belevalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 19.

⁸⁷ *Siyuki*, I. 115.

⁸⁸ The Text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, by K. Madhava Krishna Sharma, J. U. P. H. S., July, 1940, pp. 52-65.

⁸⁹ *Svarasiddhānta-candrikā* p. 3., verse 15, Annamalai University.

sūtras. Dr. Kielhorn after a detailed enquiry into the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* came to the conclusion that "the text given in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (and that of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the editions) contains 20 more sūtras than the original text."⁹⁰ This increase is accounted for in two ways viz., (i) by applying the principle of *yoga-vibhāga* or splitting into two what Pāṇini originally read as a single sūtra, and (ii) by interpolating some vārttikas as full-fledged sūtras in the present text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.⁹¹ With this also goes the re-touching of certain sūtras by admitting additional words from the vārttikas. There is again a discussion with respect to several other problems, viz. the existence in the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of the sign of nasalization marked on indicative vowels,⁹² of the sign of svarita accent to denote *adbikāra*⁹³, of accentuation of the text as in the case of Vedic works (*traiśvaryapāṭha*), and of the *Samhitāpāṭha* or unseparated word arrangement of all the sūtras of each pāda or sub-section. We know that in case of the first two the followers of the Pāṇinīya school now take recourse to tradition, which claims an uninterrupted oral transmission from the time of Pāṇini's *upadeśa* or first instruction. Besides the absence of an accented text tradition, Kaiyaṭa was in favour of the hypothesis of *ekasruti* or unaccented text. The theory of *Samhitāpāṭha* which was discussed even before Patañjali⁹⁴ appears to have been adopted more as a convenient device to get

⁹⁰Ind. Antiquary, XVI. 184.

⁹¹In one case unnoticed by Kielhorn we have evidence of the fact that even before the time of Patañjali variant wording of the sūtra had come to be discussed. (III. 2. 134, *Iha Keciḍākveritīcūtram paṭbanti, kecit prāk-keveritī-Bhāṣya*, II. 135). There are some additional variants also to be noticed, e.g., *Kāśikā*, III. 3. 78, VI. 1. 117, VI. 1. 156. VI. 2. 134; *Padamañjarī*, IV. 3. 119, IV. 4. 88; *Siddhāntakaumudī*, V. 2. 68. V. 2. 68).

⁹²*Upadeśa Jananāsika* it I. 3. 2.

⁹³*Svaritendbikārah*, I. 3. 11.

⁹⁴Cf. *Śloka-vārttika* on I. 4. 56 discussing *visvara* and *visvara*, the latter form being possible only in *Samhitāpāṭha*, *Bhāṣya* I, 340.

over stray cases of difficulty of interpretation rather than as a textual reality.⁹⁵

(iii) *Gaṇapāṭha*.—The Gaṇapāṭha forms the most important accessory treatise to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Burnell observes that the gaṇas were hardly used by the Aindra grammarians, and there are signs that Pāṇini was the first to use them extensively even if he did not invent the system.⁹⁶ Patañjali definitely states that the Gaṇapāṭha had first been compiled by Pāṇini before he composed the sūtras:—

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति स पूर्वः पाठोऽयं पुनः पाठः ।⁹⁷

Hiuen Tsang's reference that Pāṇini collected a multitude of words and made a book, almost endorses Patañjali in his statement that the Gaṇapāṭha preceded the Sūtrapāṭha. In the Gaṇapāṭha are incorporated the names of numerous towns and cities, rivers and mountains, countries and tribes, gotras and caraṇas. It has been already shown on the testimony of Hiuen Tsang that the Sūtra-kāra undertook extensive travels in quest of this material. The Gaṇas, therefore, possess considerable importance as a source of historical and geographical information.

A critical reconstruction of the Gaṇapāṭha is an essential part of the Pāṇinian textual problem. The *Kāśikā* has preserved lists of words in each gaṇa. The evidence of the *Cāndravṛtti* which is earlier than the *Kāśikā* and which also preserves full lists of the Gaṇas is also helpful. A mutual comparison proves that the *Kāśikā* was following a genuine tradition. Kātyāyana and Patañjali also had paid close attention to preserve the purity of the Gaṇapāṭha. In many cases they have discussed the implications of the inclusion or otherwise of a particular word in a Gaṇa, e.g., *Ulūka* and *Kṣudraka-Mālava* in the *Khaṇḍikādi*,⁹⁸

⁹⁵For a detailed discussion on the above, see S. P. Chaturvedi, *On the Original Text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I. pp. 562-569.

⁹⁶*Aindra System*, pp. 28-30.

⁹⁷*Bhāṣya*, I. 92-93.

⁹⁸V. 2. 45.

Nṛnamana in Kṣubhnādi,⁹⁹ *Śākalya* in Lohitādi,¹⁰⁰ *takeṣan* in Śivādi¹⁰¹, *Garga-Bhārgavikā* in Gopavanādi¹⁰² and *Atharvan* and *Ātharvaṇu* in Vasantādi.¹⁰³

Their discussions are not only helpful in reconstructing a genuine text of the Gaṇapāṭha in so far as they go, but creates a general impression that the tradition of the Pāṇinian school attached no less importance to the gaṇas than the sūtras. It is, however, impossible in the present circumstances to vouchsafe the authenticity of each word in a gaṇa. The commentaries on Pāṇini have proceeded on the assumption that the basis of the Gaṇapāṭha is generally sound.¹⁰⁴ We must agree with Dr. Bhandarkar that most of the words in the gaṇa must have been handed down from the time of Pāṇini himself, a good many being given by Patañjali in his great commentary.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, the text of the gaṇas, especially of those which were called *ākṛti gaṇas* (i.e. of which the list was left open by Pāṇini himself) suffered from later additions.

⁹⁹VIII. 4. 39.

¹⁰⁰IV. 1. 18, on which there is a long discussion.

¹⁰¹II. 262, Kātyāyana devotes 3 vārttikas to consider the reading in the group.

¹⁰²II. 4. 67.

¹⁰³*Bhāṣya* II. 320; cf. Patañjali's arithmetical remark that the words are read four times in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

¹⁰⁴E.g., the Yaskādi group (II. 4. 63) analysed by the *Kāśīkā*; out of a total of 36 words 16 have been directly traced to 5 different gaṇas of Pāṇini, viz., the first five to Śivādi (V. 1. 112); Kudri, Viśri, Ajabasti, Mitrayu to Gr̥ṣṭyādi (IV. 1. 136); Puṣkarasād to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96); Kharapa to Naḍadi (iv. 1. 99); Bhalandana again to Śivādi (IV. 1. 112); and Bhādila, Bhaḍita, Bhaṇḍila to Aśvādi (IV. 1. 110). Intrinsic evidence of the sūtras also in support of gaṇa-words is sometimes available, e.g. the reading of Pravahaṇa in IV. 1. 123 is presumed by the sūtra VII. 3. 28, or the reading of the gaṇa Sarvādi is authenticated by several sūtras of Pāṇini himself as Pūrvādi (VII, 1, 16), Dvyādi (V, 3, 2), Ḍatarādi (VII, 1, 25) and Tyadādi (VII. 2. 102). The Lohitādi-Katanta group was included in the Gargādi gaṇa (IV. 1. 105) which like the Bidādi must be considered as one of the best preserved groups.

¹⁰⁵*Ind. Ant.* I. 21.

Patañjali distinguishes between two kinds of gaṇas, (1) those which Pāṇini had read exhaustively, and (2) those which were only suggestive.¹⁰⁶ The process of interpolation was more freely operating in the case of groups which were of linguistic importance, as Ardharcādi, Ajādi, Gaurādi and Tārakādi. On the other hand, gaṇas with proper names comparatively suffered much less as there is a tendency for them to get insulated and withdrawn from the general usage of the language. The gaṇas with names of gotras can to a great extent be verified from the lists of Baudhāyana in the *Mahāpravaṇa-kāṇḍa*. Other groups in which geographical names predominate (e.g., Dāmāyādi and Takṣaśilādi) can to some extent be verified from the mention of those place-names in old independent sources, as the accounts of the Greek writers, the *Mahābhārata* and the Pāli literature. It is a reasonable inference that the compilation of such lists was generally the result of first hand field-work undertaken by the author himself. A large percentage of place-names in the gaṇas is archaic, and in many cases not traceable outside the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Their interpolation at the hands of later writers was therefore highly improbable. For example, the tribe of the Sāvitrī-putrakas in the gaṇa Dāmāyādi¹⁰⁷ must date from Pāṇini, as it is unknown in literature except in one passage of the *Kaṇva-parvan*.¹⁰⁸ At any rate the chances of fresh accretions to lists of Janapadas and other place-names were considerably less after their redaction by Patañjali.

Schools other than Pāṇini's probably possessed gaṇa lists also. In a *vārttika* on the *Krauḍyādi gaṇa*¹⁰⁹ Kātyāyana refers to the *Rauḍhyādi* class which Patañjali

¹⁰⁶Cf. Patañjali on II, 1, 29, श्रेयसादयः पठ्यन्ते, कृतादिराकृतिगणः, i.e., of two groups in the same sūtra one was fixed and the other was left open.

¹⁰⁷V. 3.116.

¹⁰⁸*Mbb.* 5, 49,

¹⁰⁹IV. 1.180.

informs us was identical with the former.¹¹⁰ Since Rauḍhi is not included in Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha, we may infer that in some other grammar (*vyākaraṇāntara*) the group was named after Rauḍhi. We are indebted to Bhartṛhari for the valuable information that the grammar of Āpiśali (a predecessor of Pāṇini) arranged the words of the gaṇa sarvādi¹¹¹ in a different order.¹¹² In assessing the value of Pāṇinian evidence, the testimony of the Gaṇapāṭha, however will always remain at best of only secondary importance.

Pāṇinian Tradition and the value of the Kāśikā.—The *Kāśikā* is the only exhaustive, lucid, authoritative and ancient commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.¹¹³ According to Haradatta it was written at Benares (*Kāśīṣu bhavā*). Its importance for interpreting Pāṇini cannot be overrated. Amongst previous commentaries Bhartṛhari refers to the Vṛttikāra Kuṇi¹¹⁴ and Kaiyaṭa mentions that Patañjali lined himself up with Kuṇi.¹¹⁵ There is, however, strong evidence suggesting that each subsequent commentary on Pāṇini—*Kūṇi*, *Māthuri Vṛtti*,¹¹⁶ Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* or *Cūrṇī*, *Bhartṛhari*, *Bhāgavṛtti*, *Kāśikā*, *Nyāsa*, *Padamañjarī*—adhered to an older and uninterrupted Pāṇinian tradition. An intensive study of the *Kāśikā*, reveals its wholesale indebtedness to the *Mahābhāṣya*. In the first verse the author explicitly admits his dependence on the *Bhāṣya* and an earlier commentary which unfortunately is left unnamed (*Vṛttau Bhāṣye*). The fact of the continuity of the earlier tradition in subsequent commentaries

¹¹⁰ *Bhāṣya* II. 233.

¹¹¹ I. 2.27

¹¹² Kielborn, *Intro.*, *Bhāṣya*, II. p. 19.

¹¹³ Pawate, *Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, p. ix.

¹¹⁴ Kielhorn, Vol. II. *Intro.* p. 21, footnote.

¹¹⁵ *Pradīpa*, I. 1.75 *Bhāṣyākāraṣu Kuṇidarśanam asīdriyat*.

¹¹⁶ माथुरी वृत्ति, referred to by Patañjali (*Bhāṣya*. IV. 3. 101), was according to the भाषावृत्ति of पुरुषोत्तमदेव (I. 2. 17) a Commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

imparts value to the evidence embodied in the *Kāśikā* also. The perusal of even a few leading sūtras will help us to realise how completely the *Kāśikā* relied on Patañjali for its material and its examples. The numerous illustrations in *Bhāṣya* on IV. 3.42 are bodily taken by the author of the *Kāśikā*, who did his work intelligently and not as a mere copyist of older material. In discussing the meaning of Prācya-Bharata,¹¹⁷ the *Kāśikā* replaces *Auddālākāyana* of Patañjali by *Ārjunāyana*, which was the name of a tribe nearer to the period of the *Kāśikā* itself. The illustration *anu-Śākaṭāyanam Vaiyākaraṇāḥ*,¹¹⁸ 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana,' must belong to the very first stratum of examples, when Pāṇini was still considered a recent author and when he had not superseded the fame of his distinguished predecessor Śākaṭāyana. The adoption of that example in the *Kāśikā* even when Pāṇini had long risen to pre-eminent distinction, is proof enough, not only of the antiquity of the material at its disposal, but also of the tenacity with which the ancient tradition persisted.

Stock Examples: Mūrdhābhiṣikta Udāharaṇa.—Patañjali informs us that the sūtras were generally accompanied with stock illustrations technically known as *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*,¹¹⁹ which according to Kaiyaṭa were so called as they were adopted in all the commentaries (*sarva-vṛttiśūdhārtatvād*). They formed an essential part of the sūtra explanation, and were sometimes considered so important as to direct the course of subsequent discussions. The example *Śāstri-śyāmā* on II. 1.55 is a case in point which may be as old as Pāṇini himself as it was made by Kātyāyana the basis of a vārttika.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ II. 4. 66.

¹¹⁸ I. 4.86.

¹¹⁹ I. 1.57; I.144.

¹²⁰ II. 398.

Pāṇini as a Teacher.—The sūtras concisely worded as they are stood in need of an explanation. Pāṇini as the sūtrakāra acted also as *ācārya* or teacher in respect of them. It stands to reason that he taught his pupils the treatise which he had systematised with such immense labour. The explanation which he gave to the rules must have become the archetype or pattern for later commentaries. The title *Vṛttisūtra* applied to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Patañjali¹²¹ can only be justified by the existence of an earlier *vṛtti* or commentary on the sūtras. Patañjali tells us that Kautsa waited on Pāṇini as a disciple.¹²² The *Kāśikā* supplements the information by adding that Kautsa resided with Pāṇini (*Anūṣivān*) and also received instruction from him.¹²³ We do not know if this Kautsa ever wrote anything on Pāṇini. But the fact is suggested that Pāṇini himself acted as a teacher in respect of the grand treatise which was his life work. Thus he became the source of a tradition of sūtra explanation handed down later on. We have a positive statement in the *Bhāṣya* which implies that Pāṇini himself expounded his sūtras to his pupils. Proposing two readings of the rule, I. 4.1, Patañjali asks why there should be a doubt as to the correct wording, and remarks:—

उभयया ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः ।¹²⁴

i.e. the teacher (Pāṇini) taught his pupils both the alternative forms of the sūtra. Even Kātyāyana was acquainted with this alternative form of the sūtra¹²⁵ for which he must have depended on some source earlier than himself, which probably was indebted to Pāṇini's own explanation of the grammatical rules. On sūtra V. 1. 50 the *Kāśikā* quotes an alternative explanation on the authority of an unnamed

¹²¹I. 371.

¹²²*Upasēdivān Kautsab Pāṇinim* II. 115.

¹²³*Upasēdivān Kautsab Pāṇinim*, II. 2.108.

¹²⁴*Bhāṣya*, I. 296.

¹²⁵Cf. *vārttikas* I and 9 on I. 4.1

commentary (*aparā vṛtti*) which occasions the remark, सूत्रार्थद्वयमपि चेतदाचार्येण शिष्याः प्रतिपादिताः, i.e., both these explanations of the rule were taught by Pāṇini to his students. The same unnamed commentary (*aparā vṛtti*) further provides an optional, but equally authoritative explanation of sūtra V. 1. 94 (तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम्) on which the *Kāśikā* repeats the same statement (उभयं प्रमाणमुभयथा सूत्रप्रणयनात्) The case of sūtra V. 4. 21 is similar. These instances prove beyond doubt that Pāṇini became the originator of a tradition of sūtra explanation which was handed down through an unbroken succession of Pāṇiniya teachers and pupils, i.e., those who studied and those who knew the Pāṇiniya sāstra (तदर्थते तद्वेद). This is in accord with the two other maxims in which all followers of the Pāṇinian system tacitly believe, viz., (१) प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः, and (२) प्रतिज्ञा-स्वरिताः पाणिनीयाः.¹²⁶ These point to Pāṇinian tradition, transmitted not so much in black and white, as by oral instruction. Kaiyaṭa's commentary on a śloka-vārttika (तदनल्पमतेर्वचनं स्मरतः),¹²⁷ admits the fact of the uninterrupted transmission of Pāṇini's treatise आगमस्य अविच्छेदमनेन दर्शयति and says that his own *Pradīpa* on the *Bhāṣya* was written in accordance with the tradition (यथागमं विश्वास्ये, Introductory verses).

Nature of the Earliest Vyākhyānas--Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali admit that the sūtras stood in need of an explanation (*vyākhyāna*) leading to the knowledge of words.¹²⁸ The earliest *vyākhyānas* were of a simple pattern intended to serve a practical end and were comprised of *carcā* (i.e., *pada-vigraha*), *udāharaṇa*, *pratyudāharaṇa* and *vākyādhyāhāra* (i.e. *anuvṛtti*).¹²⁹

¹²⁶ *Kāśikā* on I. 3.2. and 11.

¹²⁷ I. 335, I. 4.5.

¹²⁸ नहि सूत्रेण एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते, किं तर्हि ?
व्याख्यानतश्च.....न केवलानि चर्चापदानि
व्याख्यानम्, वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् इति, किं तर्हि ?
उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्
समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति । *Bhāṣya*. I. 11.

¹²⁹ *Bhāṣya*, I. 11.

The explanations emanating from the Sūtrakāra himself or from those nearest to him in time must have been of this simple fabric. To them should be assigned illustrations like *anu-Śākaṭāyanam vaiyākaraṇāḥ*,¹³⁰ *Śākaṭāyana-putraḥ*,¹³¹ *Nandaputraḥ*,¹³² and *Nandopakramāni mātāni*.¹³³ Considerable historical value attaches to such early illustrations.

The antiquity and the genuineness of the Pāṇinian tradition are factors which must weigh with us in assessing the value of whatever commentaries are now left to us. Every commentary should be viewed as a link, and a very important link too, in the chain of Pāṇinian interpretation. Dr. Kielhorn examining the question of the earlier authorities quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* made the significant recognition that Kātyāyana was acquainted with the works of other scholars who, before him, had tried both to explain and to amend Pāṇini's grammar, and who had subjected the wording of the Sūtras to that critical examination, which is so striking a feature of Kātyāyana's own Vārttikas,' and also that 'between him and Patañjali there intervene a large number of writers in prose and verse, individual scholars and schools of grammarians, who all have tried to explain and to amend the works of both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.¹³⁴ The treatises of pre-Kātyāyana vārttika writers and pre-Patañjali exponents of vārttikas typified by such names as the *Bhāradvājīyāḥ*, *Saunāgāḥ*, *Kroṣṭrīyāḥ*, or more faintly preserved in references like *Eke*, *Kecid*, *Apāre*, have become mere shadows. But those ancient masters passed on the fruits of their labours to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Again as observed by Kielhorn: 'To what extent Kātyāyana and Patañjali were indebted to those that went

¹³⁰I. 4.86.

¹³¹VI. 2.133.

¹³²VI. 2.133 Referring to king Nanda and his son.

¹³³II. 4.21.

¹³⁴*Ind. Ant.* XVI. p. 106.

before them, we shall never know ; judging from the analogy of the later grammatical literature of India we may, in my opinion, certainly assume, that, like Pāṇini himself, *both have based their works on, and have preserved in them all that was valuable in the writings of their predecessors.*¹³⁵ This considered opinion from one of the most eminent authorities of Pāṇini's grammar in modern times brings out the characteristic feature of the preservation of the Indian grammatical tradition from Pāṇini to Patañjali. We, may with equal soundness, apply the same principle to the growth of grammatical studies in the second period from the time of Patañjali to that of the *Kāśikā* which marks the end of the archaic period of Pāṇinian interpretation.

¹³⁵*Ind. Ant.* XVI. p. 106, Italics ours.

ANŪPA-VILĀSA OR DHARMĀMBHODHI OF DĪKṢITA MAṆIRĀMA

By C. KUNHAN RAJA

Anūpavilāsa is a voluminous work on Dharma-Śāstra in seven sections. There is a very brief notice of it in the catalogue of the Library in the Bikaner Fort by Dr. R. L. Mitra (no. 778, p. 360) and in Mm. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, vol. I. p. 508. Through the kindness of the Maharaja of Bikaner I had an opportunity to examine the only manuscript of the work, which is available in the State Library. The Ms. of the first part is dated Samvat 1748. The first four sheets are missing and it begins:--शसनं चैवस्तु प्रभातस्ततः परम् ४२. This is the verse 42 in the beginning and here the *Anukramanikā* begins. There is a transcript of this prepared in Samvat 1901, i.e., a century and a half after the original manuscript was written. This transcript starts with श्रीगणेशाय नमः। शसनं चैस्तु प्रतस्ततः परम् ४२. Even from this small bit, one can notice that the second transcript has made new mistakes. The leaf is marked 1. So, he could not have had access to the previous portion that is now missing. The first manuscript could not have been written much later than the actual date of the work. For the second part, there are two copies. The first copy is an old one; it contains only 50 sheets; the end is missing; as such the date of the manuscript is not known. The second copy is a later transcript; it is complete. It has 63 sheets. No date is given. For the third part also there are two manuscripts. The older manuscript does not have the first two sheets. The later one is complete. Neither of the manuscripts bears a date. The older manuscript has 75 sheets and the later one has 80. For the fourth section also there are two manuscripts. One is an old one

and is complete. There are 139 sheets. There is no date. The other has a slightly later appearance; yet it bears the date: Samvat 1747. It is complete and has 159 sheets. For the fifth part there are two manuscripts. One of them has 298 sheets and the other has 167 sheets. The latter bears the date Samvat 1747. Both of them are complete. The manuscript without the date appears to be older. For the remaining two parts, there is only one manuscript each. The manuscript for the sixth part is also complete, has 151 sheets and bears the date : 1621 Śaka and Samvat 1747. This is also found to be the date of the work. The manuscript for the seventh and the last section too is complete, has 65 sheets and bears the date : Samvat 1748.

Thus, except for the introductory matter, the work is complete. The first five sections are represented by duplicate manuscripts ; of course, one is the copy of the other. One set is contemporaneous with the other, though the manuscripts do not note the author as also the owner, as in the case of many manuscripts in this collection.

The first section deals with Ācāra. There are 41½ verses missing in the beginning. This must include Maṅgala, Praśasti, Pratijñā, etc. The available portion starts with anukramanī, *i.e.*, the list of contents for the first section. It is as follows:—

प्रभातः (प्रभातिक्यं) ततः परम् ॥
 कृतिर्मूत्रपुरीषस्य ततः शौचविधिः स्मृतः ।
 आचान्तिर्दन्तकाष्ठं च केशमाष्टिः शिखाविधिः ॥
 प्रातःस्नानविधानं च सन्ध्योपास्तिरुषस्तनी ।
 देवार्चनं ततः प्रोक्तं षोडशार्चाविधिर्हरेः ।
 विधिर्निषेधः (निषिद्धः) पुष्पाणां योगक्षेमविधिस्ततः ॥
 स्नानं माध्याह्निकं चैव तिलकं सन्ध्यया सह ।
 ब्रह्मयज्ञविधानं च .तर्पणं तदनन्तरम् ॥
 वैश्वदेवो भूतबलिर्नित्यश्चाद्यं ततः परम् ।
 अतिथेः पूजनं तद्वद्विमुखे दोषदर्शनम् ॥

भोजनस्य विधिश्चैव भक्ष्याभक्ष्यस्य निर्णयः ॥

बाडवादिस्मृतिश्चैव ताम्बूलप्राशने विधिः ।

सायं सन्ध्या ततः प्रोक्ता भोजनं च ततः पुनः ॥

शयनस्य विधिः पश्चादाह्निकोऽयं विधिक्रमः ॥

इत्याचाररत्नानुक्रमणिका । अथ सर्वोपयोगिनी परिभाषा निरुच्यते ।

The section ends :

गङ्गारामात्मजो धीमान् मणिरामो विमुक्तके ।

भूपानूपमुदेरत्नमाचारं समचीकरत् ॥

इति

श्रीमद्राठीडकुलमङ्गलावाससकलविद्याविलासनिजकीर्तितुलितकैलास
श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराजश्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माभोधौ आचाररत्नं समाप्तम् ।
संवत् १७४८ मार्गशीर्षं वदि १४ रवि लिषतं आङ्गुलीमध्ये श्री मालाकचर ॥

This is the date of the older manuscript, which has 78 sheets.
The second manuscript has the date: संवत् १७-२०१ मीती आषाढ
सुदि ४ वार गुरुवार । Then there is the figure 4000; evidently this
is the number of *granthas*. There are 100 sheets here.

The second part begins:—

शिवप्रदं श्रीशिवदत्तशर्मणः

पुत्रस्य गङ्गोत्तररामनाम्नः ॥

प्रणम्य पादं मणिरामसंज्ञक-

स्तनोति रत्नं समयं सतां मुदे ॥

मुखावगमसिद्ध्यर्थमत्रापि क्रम उच्यते ।

द्वितीये समयाख्ये तु रत्ने कालनिरूपणम् ॥

निर्णीयते तथैवास्य निर्णयत्वेन निर्णयः ।

प्रसङ्गात्तस्य तत्रैव मलत्वं च विविच्यते ॥

बालवृद्धाद्यवस्थायां कालश्च गुरुशुक्रयोः ।

तत्र चाकार्यकार्याणि तिथीनां वेधनिर्णयः ॥

अर्थतासु च सर्वासु विधिः सामान्यतो व्रते ।

गृहीतव्रतसंत्यागे प्रायश्चित्तविवेचनम् ॥

तस्यैव चान्तरा पाते सूतकादौ विनिर्णयः ।

क्रियमाणे व्रतेऽस्मिन् वज्र्यावज्र्याविनिर्णयः ॥

स्त्रियाः शूद्रस्य चाप्यत्र व्रतस्याचरणे विधिः ।

अनाज्ञप्तस्त्रियास्त्वत्र व्रते दोषस्य शंसनम् ॥

व्रतानां चैव संकल्पो व्रते कालस्य शोधनम् ।

स्वर्णादिप्रतिमापूजा तथैव द्विजभोजनम् ॥

व्रतस्योद्यापनं तत्र दक्षिणादाननिर्णयः ।
 तद्दिने भक्ष्यजातानि वर्ज्यानि विहितानि च ॥
 हविष्यादेर्विधिस्तत्र तथा प्रतिनिधेर्विधिः ।
 व्रतानां सन्निपाते च विधिरत्र विविच्यते ॥
 उच्यते तेषु चैतावदेकभक्तव्रते विधिः ।
 विधिर्नक्तव्रते चापि तथा चायाचितव्रते ॥
 विविच्यते तथैवात्र नक्षत्रव्रतके विधिः ।
 एतेषामङ्गतापन्नास्तिथयो दश पञ्च च ॥
 निर्णीता अपि सामान्यान्निर्णयन्ते विशेषतः ।
 प्रतिपन्निर्णयः पूर्वं द्वितीयानिर्णयस्ततः ॥
 तृतीयातुर्यतिथ्योश्च पञ्चम्याश्च विनिर्णयः ।
 षष्ठीनिर्णय उद्दिष्टः सप्तमीनिर्णयस्तथा ॥
 अष्टमीनवमीतिथ्योर्दशम्याश्च विनिर्णयः ॥
 एकादशी ततो यत्नाद्विशेषेण विचार्यते ॥
 विविच्यते च तत्रापि वैष्णवस्मार्तयोर्विधिः ।
 विधवाया विधिः कृष्णे ततः पुत्रवतो विधिः ॥
 विविच्यते तथैवास्या नित्यता काम्यतापि च ।
 सर्वथा हेयता वेधे ततो दोषः प्रदर्श्यते ॥
 अलाभे लोपतस्तस्याः प्रतिप्रसव उच्यते ।
 विविच्यते तथैवात्र श्राद्धप्राप्तौ विधिक्रमः ॥
 विशिष्यते तु संकल्पस्तथा च हरिपूजनम् ॥
 वज्रिताचरणे चात्र प्रायश्चित्तं विविच्यते ।
 सूतकादौ समुत्पन्ने निर्णयश्च ततः परम् ॥
 श्रवणद्वादशीयोगे व्रतस्याचरणे विधिः ।
 निर्णयितेऽष्टधा चात्र द्वादशीपारणे व्रते ॥
 निर्णयिते त्वशेषेण यत्नतः पारणाविधिः ।
 प्रमादातिक्रमे तस्या विधिरप्यनुकल्पतः ॥
 द्वादश्याश्च त्रयोदश्याश्चतुर्दश्यास्तु निर्णयः ।
 अथामानिर्णये तावत् क्रियते श्राद्धनिर्णयः ॥
 पितृयज्ञे विधिस्तत्र तथा साग्निरिग्नितः ।
 निर्णयोऽनुपनीतस्याप्यधिकारो विविच्यते ॥
 श्राद्धत्यागेऽधिकारोऽपि प्रायश्चित्तं तथोच्यते ।
 अथात्र ग्रहणे राहोर्भोजने विधिविस्तरः ॥
 पर्वणश्च तथाधाने कालस्य च विनिर्णयः ।
 संक्रान्तिनिर्णयश्चाथ नदीनां च रजोविधिः ॥

सिंहादिके गवादेश्च प्रसवे शान्तिरुत्तमा ।
इत्येतत्समये रत्ने क्रम उक्तो मयाखिलः ॥

इत्यनुक्रमणिका ॥

At the end of the section there is the following:
इति श्रीमद्राठौरकुलमङ्गलावाससकलविद्याविलासनिजकीर्तितुलितकैलासश्रीमन्महारा-
जाधिराजमहाराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहकारिते मिश्रश्रीशिवदत्तपुत्रमिश्रगणरामात्मजदीक्षित-
मणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माभोधौ समयार्ष्यं रत्नं समाप्तम् ॥

There is written below : अ. 400. This is the number of *granthas* in the section.

• The third part begins:—

उक्तं समयरत्नं तु संस्कारं रत्नमुच्यते ।
मणिरामेन सुधिया भूपानूपविलासके ॥
ते च संस्काराश्चत्वारिंशत् । तत्र सुमन्तुः ।

The enumeration of the Saṁskāras according to various authorities is dealt with in the beginning and each is taken up in the order of गर्भाधान, पुंसवन etc. At the end of each such sub-section there is the colophon : इति श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माभोधौ मिश्रगङ्गारामात्मजदीक्षितमणिरामविरचिते गर्भाधानम् । Then the next sub-section starts : अथ पुंसवनम् । There is slight variation in the colophon; it is only in very minor details.

The section ends : ततः शालाप्रतिष्ठान्ते द्विजेभ्यो भूयसीं दक्षिणां दद्यात् । ततो यथाशक्ति ब्राह्मणभोजनं कारयित्वा सबन्धुर्भुञ्जीत । इति श्रीराठौरकुलमुकुट-
मणिश्रीमहाराजाधिराजमहाराज-अनूपसिंहकारिते दीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूप-
विलासे धर्माभोधौ शालाप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोगः । समाप्तं संस्काररत्नम् ।

The fourth section begins :—

नत्वा श्रीरघुनाथपादयुगलं विघ्नेशवाण्यौ तथा ।
तातं चापि महामतिं बुधसदः पूज्यं जगद्बोधकम् ॥
राज्ञः श्रीमदनूपसिंहकृतिनः कीर्त्यै मया तन्यते ।
रत्नं वत्सरकृत्यनाम रुचिरं प्रीत्यै सतां सर्वतः ॥

तत्र यद्यपि वत्सरारम्भः शुक्लादिनैव सर्वत्रोक्तः तथापि कृष्णादिना व्यवहारात् ।
तिथिकृत्ये च कृष्णादि व्रते शुक्लादिमेव च ।
• विवाहादौ च सोरादि मासं कृत्ये विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

इति ब्रह्मपुराणात् वत्सरकृत्ये च बहुधा तिथिकृत्यात् माध्यंदिनकृतौ कृष्णादि-
नैवोक्तत्वाच्च कृष्णादिना वत्सरकृत्यमारभ्यते । तत्रादौ चैत्रमास कृत्यं भविष्यति ।

The section ends thus : अत्र दोलोत्सवः कार्यः । तदुक्तं
कृत्यचिन्तामणी ब्राह्मे ।

नरो दोलागतं दृष्ट्वा गोविन्दं पुरुषोत्तमम् ।

फाल्गुन्यां संयतः सो हि गोविन्दस्यपुरं व्रजेत् ॥

इति । इति फाल्गुनकृत्यम् । इति श्रीमद्राठौरवंशचूडामणिश्रीमन्महाराजा-
धिराजमहाराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहदेवकारिते मिश्रशिवदत्तात्मजमिश्रगङ्गारामात्मजदीक्षितम-
णिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माभोधौ वत्सररत्नं समाप्तम् ।

In one of the two manuscripts, which appears later, there
is the further entry :

संवत् १७४७ समए नाम भादौ शुदी चतुर्थीवारबुधवारके पुस्तकं संपूर्णम् ।
This must be the date of the transcript. If this is the
original of the author and the date is that of the work
itself, the other copy, which appears older, is a later
transcript.

The fifth section begins :—

हेरम्बशङ्करयुतां जगदीश्वरीं तां
नत्वा मुनींश्च जगदुद्धरणे समर्थान् ।
काश्यां करोति मणिराममुधीः सुबोधं
दानाख्यरत्नमिदमाशु नृपस्य तुष्ट्यै ॥
सुखावगमसिद्धयर्थं दानरत्ने क्रमो यथा ।
दानप्रशंसा प्रथमं तद्विघ्ने दोषदर्शनम् ॥
सामान्यतो दानफलं तत्स्वरूपं ततः परम् ।
कृत्यं, प्रतिग्रहीतुश्च ततो द्रव्यस्य देवताः ॥
रूपं प्रतिग्रहीतुश्च ततो पात्रस्वरूपता ।
दानाङ्गकथनं चैव स्वरूपं दातुरेव च ॥
दुष्टदातृस्वरूपं च दानाङ्गद्रव्यकीर्तनम् ।
अदेयद्रव्यकथनं कालं दाने तथैव तु ॥
दाने निषिद्धकालं च दाने देशस्य कीर्तनम् ।
ततो दानविधिः प्रोक्तः सामान्येनैव सर्वदा ॥
तुलाप्रभृति दानानि महादानानि षोडश ।
ततस्त्रीण्यतिदानानि क्रमस्तस्य तु वै शृणु ॥
सामान्यगोदानविधिः कपिलायास्ततः परम् ।
संक्षिप्तगोदानविधिस्ततस्तु द्विमुखीविधिः ॥

पञ्चधेनोर्विधिस्तत्र वैतरण्या विशेषतः ।
 सगर्भगोप्रदानस्य सङ्ग्रामार्जितगोस्तथा ॥
 द्यूतार्जितधनक्रीतगोदानस्य विधिस्तथा ।
 गुडधेन्वादिदानस्य विधिस्तु तदनन्तरम् ॥
 दशवर्णगव्यदानविधिः प्रोक्तस्ततः परम् ।
 वन्ध्यादोषप्रशमनं स्वर्णधेनुविधिस्ततः ॥
 दशधेन्वादिदानस्य विधिर्भूमेस्ततः परम् ।
 गृहदानविधिं चैव पर्वतानां तथा विधिम् ॥
 विद्यादानविधिं चैव कूर्मोक्तं दशदानकम् ।
 कनकाश्वतिलानागादासीदासमहीगृहाः ।
 कन्या च कपिला धेनुर्महादानानि वै दश ॥
 इति कूर्मपुराणोक्तानि ॥

स्वर्णादिपात्रदानं तु जलदानं ततः परम् ।
 रत्नदानं ततः प्रोक्तं धृतपात्राद्यनन्तरम् ॥
 दानं कृष्णाजिनस्योक्तं ततो दुग्धघटस्य तु ।
 ततः कुबेरमूर्तेस्तु दानं दारिद्र्यनाशकम् ॥
 नेत्ररोगहरं दानं गरुडस्य ततः परम् ।
 जलकुम्भप्रदानं च स्वर्गलोकस्य भोगदम् ॥
 आत्मप्रतिकृतेर्दानं ततः प्रोक्तं महत्फलम् ॥
 सर्वरोगप्रशमनं दानं प्रोक्तं ततोऽश्विनोः ।
 अग्निमान्द्यप्रशमनं मेषदानं ततः परम् ॥
 ततस्त्रिमूर्तिदानं तु ततस्तिथ्यादिदानकम् ॥
 ततो वस्त्रस्य दानं तु शय्यादानं ततः परम् ।
 ततो वितानदानं तु गन्धदानं ततः परम् ॥
 ताम्बूलदानं तु तत आदर्शस्य ततः परम् ।
 व्यञ्जनादेस्ततो दानं भाण्डदानं ततः परम् ॥

इत्यनुक्रमणिका । दाने परिभाषाया आवश्यकत्वात् भ्रुटिति ज्ञानार्थमत्रापि आदी परिभाषा लिख्यते ।

The section ends : इति नानाविधानि दानानि समाप्तानि । विशेषो हेमाद्र्यादौ द्रष्टव्यः । इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराज अनूपसहदेवकारिते मिश्रशिवदत्तात्मजमिश्रगङ्गारामात्मजदीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्बोधी दानरत्नं समाप्तम् । One of the manuscripts, which appears newer, has the date संवत् 1747. The manuscript without date has on the outer cover the following entry, प्रं. 4500, evidently the number of *granthas* in the section.

The sixth section begins :—

मिताक्षरादिकान् ग्रन्थान् दृष्ट्वा सत्संप्रदायतः ।

मणिरामेण सुधिया शुद्धिरत्नं वितन्यते ॥

शुद्धिस्तु अखिलविहितकर्मापादको धर्मविशेष इति ज्ञेयम् । सा च शरीरनिष्ठा ।
अत आदौ शरीरशुद्धिरुच्यते । सा च पञ्चधा । तथा च यमः ।

Each sub-section ends with a colophon : इति श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माभ्युधौ शुद्धिरत्ने देहशुद्धिः । And the next section begins : अथ स्त्रीशुद्धिः There are minor sub-divisions which are marked as : इति पतिव्रताधर्माः । अथ रजस्वलाधर्माः ।

The section ends :

वर्षत्रयपर्यन्तं श्राद्धकरणप्रकारे कात्यायनः । अशुद्धेषु तु श्राद्धेषु विप्रो भोक्ता न जायते ।
विप्रं कुशमयं कृत्वा पात्रे कव्यं निवेदयेत् ॥ इति । इत्यादिवचनदर्शनात् सूत्रकारस्य
आशयाच्च चतुर्थे पाश्चात्यानां शुद्धश्राद्धाचारः प्रामाणिक एव । तथा च तत्रापि गरुड-
पुराणोक्तसामग्रीकं त्रयोदशपददानं कर्तव्यम् । अन्यदपि देशाचारानुसारेण सर्वं कर्तव्यम् ।
इत्यलं विचारेण । इति शुद्धश्राद्धविचारः । इति श्रीमिश्रशिवदत्तसूनुमिश्रगङ्गारामात्मज-
दीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहदेवकारिते श्रीमदनूप-
विलासे धर्माभ्युधौ शुद्धिरत्नं समाप्तम् ।

नासत्याङ्गरसेन्दु (१६१२) सम्मितशके ऋष्यब्धिसप्तैन्दुके (१७४७)

वर्षे फाल्गुनशुक्लपञ्चमतिथौ वारे शनी त्वाष्ट्रभे ।

गङ्गारामतनूद्भवेन कृतिना काश्यां सतां तोषकृद्

ग्रन्थोऽयं मणिरामदीक्षितमहीदेवेन पूर्णः कृतः ।

From this colophon, it is certain that this is the end of the work and that the date 1747 Samvat represents the date of the composition of the work. Thus we can conclude that the manuscripts bearing the date 1747 are contemporaneous with the author. The other copies must be the originals written by the author; in appearance, the latter are older.

There is the entry ग्रं 3100, evidently the number of *granthas* in the section. There is also the entry शुद्धिरत्नं ६

The next section begins :—

कात्यायनमुनिप्रोक्तश्राद्धसूत्राविरोधिनी ।

पद्धतिर्मणिरामेण तन्यते शिष्टसम्मता ॥

तत्र श्राद्धं द्विविधम् । सपात्रकं अपात्रकं च । यत्र निमन्त्रणपूर्वकं ब्राह्मणमुपवेश्य
तस्मै पादार्घदानादिपूर्वकं यच्छ्राद्धं तत् सपात्रकम् । तस्यैव हस्तश्राद्धं इति नाम । यत्र
तु ब्राह्मणालाभे दर्भदण्डं संस्थाप्य यच्छ्राद्धं तदपात्रकं इति ज्ञेयम् ।

The work ends :--

प्रमादात् कुर्वतां कर्म प्रच्यवेताध्वरेषु यत् । स्मरणादेव तद्विष्णोः संपूर्ण स्यादिति श्रुतिः ॥

इति पठित्वा विष्णुं स्मरेत् । नित्यश्राद्धीयमन्नं ब्राह्मणाय प्रतिपादयेत् । जले वा क्षिपेद् । इति नित्यश्राद्धप्रयोगः । इति श्राद्धरत्ने सांवत्सरिकश्राद्धाद्युत्तरक्रियाप्रयोगाः समाप्ताः । इति श्रीदीक्षितमणिरामकृते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमदनूपसिंहदेवकारिते श्रीमदनूपविलासे धर्माम्भोषौ श्राद्धरत्नं समाप्तम् । समाप्तश्चायं धर्माग्निधन्यः ॥

There is the further entry : संख्या २१०००. This is evidently the number of *granthas* in all the seven sections together. The number of *granthas* in this particular section is given as 1600 on the outer cover. The entry proceeds : हजार । लिखि आप ता त्रिभिः कायस्थैः । संवत् १७४२ वैशाख १० व ५ ।

Although the colophon at the end of the sixth section clearly shows that the work ended there, yet I cannot ignore the entry at the end of that section, which clearly mentions this as a part of the entire work; and this is not a later manuscript. It is contemporaneous with the author. For this reason, I started in the beginning that the work consists of seven sections. Perhaps we can take the श्राद्धरत्न which is the seventh, as an appendix to the main work in six sections.

The author Maṇirāma Dikṣita is an erudite scholar, a versatile genius, a writer on a variety of subjects and an acknowledged authority in his time. In the Bikaner State Library there are many works written by him and also many manuscripts which belonged to him. He was patronised by Maharaja Anupasinghji of Bikaner who reigned from 1669 to 1698. He was a Viceroy in the Deccan during the reign of Emperor Shahjahan and a trusted friend of the Emperor.

From the brief description of the work, it would be found that the *Dharmāmbhodhi* is a comprehensive work on Dharmaśāstra. The manuscripts available in the Bikaner Library were transcribed at the time when the work was actually written also. The manuscript is complete except for the introductory portion, which must have been missing at least for a century now.

THE PURĀNIC DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By M. RAJA RAO

1. Estimates of the date of the Mahābhārata war range from 5306 B.C. to 950 B. C. In his celebrated *History of Hindu Astronomy* (pp. 115-124) S.B. Dikshit has argued out in detail that the conflicting statements in the Udyoga and Bhīṣma Parvas could be reconciled on the supposition that each of the astronomical events has been assigned two *nakṣatras*—one *Sāyana* (corresponding to the European 'zodiacal signs counted from a continually shifting first point of Aries) and the other, *Nirayana*, (corresponding to the fixed zodiacal constellations). They form part of the periodical conundrums which the divine scribe Lord Gaṇapati had to solve before he could proceed with his manuscript, to the dictation of Śrī Vyāsa. Dikshit found by calculation that the *Sāyana nakṣatras* corresponded to a first point of Aries (vernal Equinox) that coincided with the zero of the constellation of *Punarvasu* in 5306 B. C. The second set of *nakṣatras* indicate the actual star-group near which any given *Sāyana* division lay. The corresponding *Sāyana* and *Nirayana* positions were as follows—Sun:—i. *Viśākhā* (*Sāyana*), ii *Śatabhiṣag* (*Nirayana*); Moon—i. *Anurādhā*, ii. *Śatabhiṣag*; Mercury—i. *Viśākhā*, ii. *Dhāniṣṭhā*; Venus—i. *Jyēṣṭhā*, ii. *Pūrva-bhādrapada*; Mars—i. *Maghā*, ii. *Anurādhā*, Jupiter—i. *Svātī*, ii. *Śravaṇā*; Saturn—i. *Citrā*, ii. *Uttara-aśāḍhas*; *Rāhu*—i. *Anurādhā*, ii. *Śatabhiṣag*. The aim of the eminent astronomer was more the refutation of the views put forward by Mr. Lele than a serious attempt to establish a date which differed so much from the traditional date 3102 B.C. The *Mahābhārata* mentions that the Kaliyuga commenced with the death of Kṛṣṇa and abdication of Yudhiṣṭhira, 36 years after the war. Dr. D.S. Trivedi

bases his opinion, on this statement and assigns the date B.C. 3137.¹ Bhaṭṭotpala, Kalhaṇa and Āryabhaṭṭa, assign the date 2448 B. C. This estimate is based on the verse in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, of Varāhamihira about the *saptarṣis* having been in *Maghā* in Yudhiṣṭhira's reign.² Bhaṭṭotpala quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Garga stating merely that the *Munayāb* were in *Pitr-daivatam* (*Maghā*); no dates are given, in that verse. It is not clear whether the date 2526 was inserted by Varāhamihira had been already mentioned by Vṛddha-Garga himself. If the computation is attributed to Garga, then the *Śaka-kāla* referred to in the verse—

*Āsan saghāsu munaya Śāsati Prthivīm Yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatan,
Ṣaḍ dwika pañca dvi yuta sakakālab tasya rājñasca.*

could not be that of Śālivāhana, since even the younger Garga lived prior to the Christian Era. Vaidya and Gopala Aiyar suggested that the *sāka* was that of Buddha Nirvāṇa, 543 B.C. Interpreting the numerals as indicating 2566, and adding 543 to it, Vaidya derived the date B. C. 3109 for Yudhiṣṭhira. Gopala Aiyar interpreted the numerals to indicate the product 25×26 or 650 and adding 543 arrived at the date 1193 B.C. On the other hand, if the date 2526 was computed by Varāhamihira, then the second line of the verse would mean either that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled 2526 years before Śālivāhana *sāka*, i.e., in 2448 B.C., or that the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* was written in the year 2526 of Yudhiṣṭhira *sāka*. If we assign the date 560 A.D. for Varāhamihira, we get the date (2526-560) 1966 B.C for Yudhiṣṭhira. Dr. R. Shama Sastry points out that the term *Śāka* as a synonym for the word 'Era' came into general use only after the rule of the Andhras.

¹ *Journal of Indian History*, Madras XVI, pp. 239, 248; Kane vol. 1951 pp. 515, 525.

² *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Chap. 13; verse 3; Kalhaṇa, *Rajataranginī* Bk. I, 55-56.

Megasthenes has mentioned that 153 kings intervened between Dionysus and Sandrokottos, according to the tradition current in India at the time and that Heracles is believed to have ruled 15 generations after Dionysus. Vaidya allots an average of 20 years to the 138 generations between Heracles whom he identifies with Sri Kṛṣṇa and Candragupta. So Kṛṣṇa lived (138×20 plus 320, i.e., 2760 plus 320) about 3080 B. C.³ K. P. Jayaswal deduces the date 1424 B. C. from the statement of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* that 1015 years intervened between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma. (409 plus 1015). V. Rangachari seems to concur with him.⁴ Pargiter calculates 37 generations between Parīkṣita and Nanda; assigns an average of 15 years and arrives at the date 980 B. C. (37×15 plus 325 plus 100 gives 555 years between Parīkṣita and Mahāpadma, 100 years for the Nandas, and 325 B. C. for Candragupta). Gopala Aiyar uses the same data to arrive at his figure 1193 B. C. He allots an average of 22 years to the 37 generations, 64 years to the Nandas, and B. C. 315 to Candragupta. In the *Annual Report* of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1927 A.D.⁵, Dr. R. Shāma Sastry, the then Director has expressed his view, based on the archaic style of the *Mahābhārata* and also certain astronomical references in it, that the war probably took place about 1200 B. C. Dr. M. H. Krishna, the present Director, seems to hold the same view.

2. In his learned article on *Some Problems of Indian Chronology*, in the *Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* for 1930-31 vol. xii part 4., Mr. K.G. Sankar, B.A.B.L., has shown that the year 1198 B.C. satisfies most of the requirements of the astronomical references contained in the

³ Vaidya : *A Criticism of the Mahābhārata* pp. 80-90.

⁴ V. Rangachari : *Pre-Muslim India*, vol. I, chapter 2 gives a masterly summary of the views of the several scholars.

⁵ pp. 8-15.

Udyoga and *Bhīṣma Parvas*. Though one may not accept his arguments or the data by which he arrives at his figure, 1198 B.C., he deserves felicitations for the discovery of a date, which tallies, as I shall demonstrate presently, to a remarkable degree with the astronomical data. The coincidence is indeed so complete that there is no doubt that whoever introduced the astronomical references into the text, he based his statements on actual observation of Planetary positions in 1198 B.C. Those who are inclined to hold the view that the Bhārata war must have taken place about 1200 B.C. will find in it a conclusive proof of the correctness of their opinion. Those who are disposed to assign the war to a very much earlier date than 1200 B.C., will look upon it as the date when, as pointed out by Dr. R. Shama Sastry, the old *Gāthā-ic* account of the war was transformed into Epic form and the *Anuṣṭup śloka* metre. The original astronomical references that were quite consistent with the actual conditions when the war was fought, were retained on account of the sanctity attached to them by tradition, and were supplemented by others that were actually observed at the time the original narrative was recast into classical Sanskrit. At any rate, the nucleus of the text of the *Mahābhārata* cannot be dated later than the twelfth century B.C. Tradition traces it back to 3102 B.C. The Purāṇas take it back to 2000 B.C. The problem reminds me of the "Wise men and the Chameleon." Before I proceed to the exposition of my own views in the matter based on certain statements in the Purāṇas the full significance of which has not been properly essayed, I shall demonstrate the faithfulness with which the aspects of the sky have been delineated by the poet of the *Mahābhārata*. The following statements can be attributed to the poet—astronomer of 1198 B. C. (*Vide Dikshit's Astro.*)

- A. i. *Prajāsambaraṇe rājan Somam sapta grabhā iva.* (Droṇa. Ch. 37—vs. 22). ii. *Nihsaranto vyadṛśyanta sūryāt sapta*

mahāgrabāh. (Kārṇa. Ch 37—vs. 4). iii. *Rākṣasam dudurvuh sankhye grabāh pañca ravim yathā*. (Bhīṣma Ch. 100—vs. 37). iv. *Maghā viṣagah Somah tad dinam pratyapadyata; dipyamānaśca sampetur divi sapta mahāgrabāh*. (Bhīṣma. Ch. 17—vs. 2) Position of Planets at sunrise (eclipsed) on New-moon of *Mārgaśīra*. (Paurṇimānta) on 21 October 1198 B.C. (*Indian Ephemeris* of D. B. S. Pilla). (Sun 224), (Moon 224), (Mars 217), (Mercury 226), (Jupiter 216), (Venus 236), (Saturn 215), (Rāhu 230), (Comet 229), v. *Sweto grabāhprajvalitāh sudhūma iva pāvakah; Aindram tejasvī-nakṣatram Jyeṣṭham akramya tiṣṭhati*. (Bhīṣma. Ch. iii—vs. 16). All the seven planets were found within a compass of 20 degrees.

N.B.—The longitudes are expressed in degrees measured from the zero of Aśvinī, along the ecliptic. The *nakṣatra* division *Jyeṣṭhā* extends from 227 to 240. The *yoga-tara Jyeṣṭhā* stands at 229; Anurādhā at 224.

B. Planetary conjunctions two or three at a time.

- i. *Tatab samabbavat yuddham Śukrangirasavarcaśob (Drouṇyarjunayoh) nakṣatram abhito vyomni śukra-aṅgirasayor iva*. (Kārṇa Ch. 18—vs. 1.). About the time of *Puṣya* new-moon (30 days later), the retrograde Venus and Jupiter were in conjunction : Jupiter (222,) Venus (223.) ii. *Bhrguṣūnū Dharāputrau Śaśijena samanvitau* (Śalya, Ch. 11, vs-18). Venus (228); Mars (231); Mercury (222), on the day of Śalya's death. iii. Three months later, Mercury and Saturn were simultaneously retrograde. *Lokatrāsakarāvāstam (Drouṇyarjunau) vimārgasthau grabauiva*. (Kārṇa. Ch. 18—vs. 2.).

C. Two eclipses at an interval of thirteen days. (Bhīṣma, Ch. 3.). i. *Rāhuśca agrasat ādityam aparvani viśāmpate*. (Sabhā. Ch. 79-19).

There was a solar eclipse about sunrise on 9th August 1213 B.C. and a lunar eclipse at moon-set on 22nd August 1213 B.C. August 9 is counted as new-moon. August 22, fullmoon, will be thirteenth day. (*Candrasūryau ubhau grastau ekamāsi trayodaśm.* Bhīṣma. Ch. iii-32).

D. *Samvatsarasasthāyinau ca grabau prajvalitan ubhau Viśāyāb sampasthau Brhaspatisanaiścara.* (Bhīṣma iii-27.). Ch. Jupiter and Saturn were together near Visaka for about a year. B.C. 1199 Solar Year 330th day B.C. 1198. 230th day. Jupiter 203 (retrogression began). Jupiter 216 (direct), Saturn at 212 (retrogression began). Saturn 215 (direct).

N.B.—*Viśakā* extends from 200 to 213.

E. *Maghāsu Angārako vakrah, Śravaṇe ca Brhaspatih.* (Bhīṣma. Ch. iii-14). In 1195 B.C. three years later, Mars began to trace back at 131 (Maghā), and Jupiter at 300 (Dhaniṣṭhā).

3. The purāṇas are the only available source of information about the several dynasties of kings that ruled in India in Pre-Buddhistic times. The legendary period of Indian History ends and the historical stage begins with the Mahābhārata war. Until the Indus Valley seals are deciphered, rightly interpreted, and properly co-ordinated, it may not be possible to state definitely when the legendary period terminated. Opinion is widely divergent as to circumstances that assigned the commencement of the Kali-yuga to 3102 B.C. Speculations are rife regarding the duration of the four *Yugas* from the historian's point of view as contrasted with that of the astronomer. The Purāṇas and the Itihāsas (*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*) distinguish between *Mānuṣī* and Divine *yugas*. Any attempt, (like that of Mr. K.G. Sankar in the article referred to already) to base chronology on speculations about the historical aspects of *Catur-yugas* and *Manvantaras* is likely to land us in inconsistencies. Astronomical data, unless they

are corroborated by epigraphic evidence, are equally misleading, since astronomical events repeat themselves at regular intervals. Tradition loses in definition and gains in distortion as time rolls on. Whereas the statements of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* are more guarded, those of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* are more dogmatic. Except in a single instance, the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* does not attempt to correlate two or more dynasties. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* sums up at the several stages and commits the error of describing contemporary dynasties as successive. Dynasties that dovetail into one another are placed end to end in time. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* postulates an interval of 1400 years between the close of the Andhra dynasty and the time of the Purāṇa, coinciding with that of *kalki*. Except in the case of the Bṛhadrathas, Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas who are stated to have ruled in succession, all other dynasties that preceded the Mauryas are described as collateral and co-extensive. Some of them belong to the legendary period, and their lineage ended at the time of Mahāpadma, who is likened to Paraśurāma, the exterminator of all Kṣatriyas. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 98—vs 303) clearly states that the Bṛhadrathas were followed by the Vīta-hotras. When a few Vīta-hotras had ruled, Munika, the Pradyota killed his master and installed his son. The verse seems to imply that it was Pālaka, Pradyota's son, that ignored or set aside his master and began to rule in his own name. Five of them ruled in succession until, in their turn, they were displaced by the Śiśunāgas. All the Purāṇas, concur in allotting 1,000 years, to Bṛhadrathas, 138 years to the Pradyotas and 362 years to the Śiśunāgas. None of them has stated how many years the Vīta-hotras ruled who immediately succeeded the last Bṛhadratha king, up to the time they were displaced by Pradyota. The Purāṇas declare that there ruled twenty kings of that line. We can allot 400 years to the whole dynasty. Let us assume that the line commenced after the last Bṛhadratha. According to the *Vāyu*, the number of kings from Pradyota

to Mahāpadma was fifteen. Supposing that fifteen out of the twenty Viṭahotras ruled in a subordinate capacity under the Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas five of them at least should have ruled as independent kings. The period of 138 years usually allotted to the Pradyotas could be transferred to them. The Jaina accounts agree in stating that Pālaka was crowned on the day of *Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa*, in B. C. 526. So even if we should ignore the Śiśunāgas altogether, the Bṛhadratha line should have continued down to B. C. 664. The 32 kings of the Bṛhadratha dynasty who are described as having ruled for an aggregate period of 1000 years are clearly designated by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* "*Bhavitārāḥ*," future kings. Since the post-Bhārata list includes only 22 names, scholars have been forced to borrow 10 names from the pre-war period. Various expedients are adopted to bring the equal average to the standard of 20 or even 15 years. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* clearly states that only prominent kings are mentioned in the lists, which are therefore incomplete. The descent is not throughout from father to son. Wherever we come across an unusually long reign, we can be sure that the grandson succeeded in the absence of the son. Their united reigns represent three generations. Like the Hoysalas, some of them might have continued the era of their predecessors. Moreover, the son did not always get the throne. That member of the king's family who was regarded as best fitted for kingship succeeded to the throne by election. It is also quite possible that there were breaks due to temporary usurpation or formation of republics. Buddha's father is said to have served as president of a republic. (Vairājya.) The actual number of generations covered by the dynasty will be therefore greater than the number of kings named. If we take all these factors into account, there is nothing inherently improbable for the dynasty to have occupied 1000 years. So

the latest date for the Bhārata war works out at 1664 B. C. Even the period of 723 years which some scholars are inclined to assign to the Bṛhadrathas will take us back to the 14th. century B. C. i.e., 1387 B. C. and not to 1200 B. C. It has become a fashion to discredit Hindu and Jaina traditions when they are not in accord with Buddhistic traditions imported from abroad. Purāṇic accounts have been mutilated to make them conform to foreign chronicles and preconceived opinions. In spite of errors due to faults of transcription and regional and tribal variations, the Purāṇic dynastic lists have been substantiated by epigraphic evidence whenever available. In his *Catalogue of Indian coins*, (pp. xxyi and lxxv) Rapson has testified to the reliability of the Purāṇas regarding the Andhra dynasty. "There is no reason to doubt that the long period for which the testimony of inscriptions and coins scarcely exists, was actually occupied by the reigns recorded in the Purāṇas." I am therefore inclined to accept the Purāṇic statement that an interval of about 1500 years lay between the birth of Parīkṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadma even though some of the names might have got transposed as a result of flux of time. The Purāṇas assign a period of 100 years to the Nanda dynasty. The Buddhist Chronicles, the Mahāvamśa and the Dīpavamśa assign only 22 years. Mahāpadma is depicted as a robber chieftain. The Purāṇas rate him as a powerful sole monarch. (*Ekachatrādhīpati*). Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya is reported not only to have wrested the kingdom from the Nandas after a struggle extending over 12-16 years, but to have ruled himself. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* uses the expression : *Uddharīṣyati tān sarvān Kauṭilyo vai dviraṣṭabbhiḥ; Bhuktvā mahīm varṣa śatam Nandendub sa bhaviṣyati*. He is described as the best of the Nandas. The *Matsya Purāṇa* states : *Uddharīṣyati Kauṭilya sama dvādaśabbhiḥ sūtān; bhuktvā mahīm varṣa śatam tato Mauryān gamiṣyati*. The Burmese legend of Buddha, the *Malla-linkara*, (*Brigandet*, pp. 125—128 vol. ii), informs us

that Cāṇakya discovered signs of kingship in himself and it was his mother's timely advice that prevented his giving outward expression to it; that Candragupta was purchased by him and trained for kingship. It is therefore not improbable that he satisfied his early ambition by ruling the kingdom in his own name before he installed Candragupta. The experience of statecraft that he thus gained at first hand enabled him to produce the *Artha-sāstra*, under the pen-name Kauṭilya. Viṣṇucitti, the commentator of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, informs that Kauṭilya, Cāṇkaya, Viṣṇu-gupta, and Vātsyayana were the names of one and the same person, the patron of Candragupta. The *Brhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya has another curious legend about the Nandas. Mahāpadma was succeeded by an impostor who called himself Yogānand or (Nava) Neo-Nanda out of which grew the legend of the Nine (Nava) Nandas. It was Cāṇakya who overthrew him and restored the kingship to the heir, Candragupta. Whatever it may be, there was an *inter-regnum* between the last Nanda and Cāṇakya. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* assigns 28 years to Mahāpadma and 12 years to his eight sons in succession. The next sixty years might have been taken up by Cāṇakya's personal rule and the upheaval caused by Alexander's invasion. Anyhow the period of 22 years allotted by the Buddhistic chronicles to the Nanda dynasty does not seem to be correct. The history of the period is shrouded in mystery.

4. The Purāṇas have not attempted to state the regnal years of kings that flourished before the Bhārata war. Fuller information has been furnished regarding the kings that followed the war. They are divided roughly into two groups. The first group lasted down to Mahāpadma, and are said to belong to the original Kṣatriya stock, pure and mixed. The second group was constituted by Śūdra kings beginning with Mahāpadma, with varying tinges of Kṣatriya-hood in them. The influence of Kali that had been gathering strength

comes into unrestricted operation with the advent of Mahāpadma. The birth of Parikṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadma are two important dividing landmarks. The commentators Viṣṇuciṭṭi and Sridharaswāmī point out that the interval between them should be taken as 1500 years (Sārdhasahasram) and that the words Pañcaśad (*Viṣṇu*. iv—24-204) and Pañcadaśa (*Bhāgavata*) are mistakes of transcription. The correct wording ought to be “*Etadvarṣa sabasram tu; Jñeyam Śatottaram*”. Pargiter’s note on the lines (p. 58, *Dynasties of the Kali age*) points out that the correct rendering *Pañcaśatottaram* occurs in some recensions of the *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*. Accepting the readings 1015 and 1050 is tantamount to the admission that the Brhadrathas, Pradyotas, and Śiśunāgas became contemporaries at the time of the later Brhadratha kings and all ended together with Padma’s coronation. It would mean more a murder than mutilation of all ancient tradition. The *Vāyu* differs from the others in one important particular. It employs the word *Mahādeva*, while others use *Mahāpadma* and *Nandu*. Scholars have naturally equated them. It seems to me that the equation is not inevitable. The version of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* appears to be the earliest, as I shall presently indicate. We should not lose sight of the factor that as at the present time the grandson might have been named after the grandfather or other earlier ancestor. The concerned verses of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* are (Ch. 98-408 to 411). *Eṣa vaṃsakramah kṛtsnam Kṛtito vo yathākramam, atīta vartamānaśca tathaiva anāgataśca ye*; (408) i. *Mahādevābhiṣekat tu janma yāvat Parikṣitah, Etad varṣa sabasrantu jñeyam pañcaśaduttaram*. (409). ii. *Paramāṇam vai tathācoktam Mahāpadmāntaram ca yat*; iii. *Antaram tat satanyastau ṣaṭ trimsacca samāh smṛtāh* (410) •*Etad Kālāntaram bhāvya andhrāntā ye prakīrtitāh; bhaviṣyaib tatra sankehyātāh purāṇajñair śrutarṣibhih* (411). The passage contains three distinct statements. i. An interval of 1050 years from the coronation of Mahādeva down to the birth of

Parīkṣita. ii. the interval from Parīkṣita to Mahāpadma as already enumerated. (1000 plus 138 plus 362, i.e., 1500); iii. An interval of 836 years from Mahāpadma to the end of the Andhra dynasty. The second statement is contained only in the *Vāyu*; the others substitute Mahāpadma and suitably alter the phrasing also, in verse i. The *Jātakas* tell us that Mahādeva is a synonym of Makhadeva the eponymous ancestor of Janaka. It is my belief that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* pushes back the historical period by 1050 years to the era of Mahādeva, probably one of the kings commemorated in the seals of Mohendo Jaro and other Indus Valley excavations or those of Harappa. (Harapura). The implications of the second statement have been discussed already. The third requires some elucidation. Though the *Purāṇas* declare Puloma or Pulomavi to have been the last of the Andhras proper, they label the next five or seven kings as Andhra-bhrtyās and conclude by calling them also Andhras (*Vāyu*. Ch. 98—352 to 355.) and assign to them 102 or 100 years. Epigraphic records trace the Andhras to 226 A.D. dating their origin to Aśokan times since Megasthenes declares them to be powerful neighbours of Magadha. The inclusion of Śālisuka into the Mauryan dynasty list is regarded as out of place. If we equate him to Simuka, the originator of the Andhra dynasty (Śali Śuka : Śrīmukha : Śīmuka), the place assigned to him in the Mauryan list is chronologically correct and might indicate a temporary domination over the Mauryas (456-226 yields 230 B.c.). The date of the last Andhra-sama-vamśa king will be 320 plus 100 or 420 A.D. the date of Kumaragupta. In the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1923 A.D. Dr. R. Shama Sastry has shown why the Gupta rule should be regarded as having commenced in 202 A.D. in preference to a later date 320 B.C. He has shown that the proposed date is in harmony with Jaina, Brahmanic, and Chinese traditions, not excluding the Ceylonese. The genealogical list and dates given on page

22 are in full accord with the *Vāyu Purāṇa* statement. (Ch. 98-352-355.). In the *Harivamśa* of Jināsenācārya, the Guptas are allotted 231 years. Add 231 to 202 and you get 433 A.D. Go back 836 years and you reach 403 B.C. Mahāpadma's coronation is said to have taken place in some year between B.C. 409 and 422 B.C. The statements of the *Vāyu* are not only mutually consistent but accord with epigraphic data.

5. I shall proceed to point out other passages of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which indicate the commencement of the second millennium before Christ as the era of the Mahābhārata War. i. It is stated that the vernal equinox occurred when the sun was at the end of Meṣa, i.e., in the first pada of *Kṛttika* and the autumnal equinox when the sun reached the end of Tula, i.e., the fourth quarter of Viasaka. At the time of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* they had receded to the commencement of Meṣa and Tulā respectively. The moving back by thirty degrees requires at least 30×72 or 2160 years. The vernal equinox was at the zero of *Āśvinī* about 500 A.D. or *Kaliyuga* 3600. The date of the nucleus of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, i.e., that of *Adhisima kṛṣṇa* should have been about (2160-500) 1660 B.C. The Bhārata War took place about six generations earlier, i.e., in about 1860 B.C. or earlier. (Ch 50—vs 195-198 of *Vāyu*). ii. The implications of the *Saptarṣi* cycle have not been properly understood. Brennand (*Hindu Astronomy*) has clearly pointed out that what the ancients meant by saying that the Saptarṣis were in *Maghā* at the time of the Bhārata war, was that the solstitial colure, i.e., the north and south line passing through the northernmost and southernmost positions of the sun above the equator at the summer and winter solstices respectively passed by the side of the stars in the constellations of *Maghā* and the Great Bear (*Saptarṣis*). The Purāṇas furnish a similar interpretation. (*Vāyu*, Ch. 98; 415-416. *Matsya*, Ch. 273; vs. 41 and 42.

Viṣṇu Amsa iv. Ch. 24; vs. 105-106). [*Saptarṣiṇāntu ye pūrva drśyante uttara diśi, tato madhyena ca kṣetram drśyate yut samam divi; tena saptarṣayo yukta jñeya vyomni satam samā, nakṣatrāṇām ṛṣiṇāṅca yogasya etat nidarśanam...* The commentaries of Viṣṇucitti (1300 A.D.) and Sridharaswāmī (1600 A.D.) run as follows. [*Agre śakatakara tāra saptakam saptarṣi maṇḍalam. tatraiva maṇḍale agrastanyab prācya Maricib; tatah paścāt namrayugandharākāro Vasiṣṭassabhāryah. tatah paścāt iṣat unnata iṣamula sthanīyuh Aṅgirāh Tadasanna paścima tara catuṣṭayasya ṛṣāṇye Atrih. Atrer yamyab Pulastyab.*

Pulastyasya paścime Pulabab. Tadudīcya catuṣka vāyavye Kratub. Evaṃ stbīte yau pūrvau udaye prathamam drśyete śakatasthānasyapaścāt pulastaya Kratu sanjñau. Tayostat purvavoṣṭa madhye samam dakṣiṇottara rekhāyāh samadeśāvasthitam yad aśvinīyādi anyatamam nakṣatram drśyate Tena nakṣatreṇa saptarṣayab yukta nrṇāmabda satam tiṣṭhanti.]

The commentators seem to imply that the point of intersection of the north and south lines passing through the mid-point of the line joining Kratu and Pulastya with the ecliptic is not stationary but keeps on slowly moving at the rate of one nakṣatra or 13.3 degrees per one hundred years. The fixed point in the Great Bear chosen for the purpose is the mid-point of the diagonal joining Kratu and Pulastya. Kratu is the star called Dhube by astronomers and forms one of the pointers. The second assumption implicit in the statement is that the reference-point lies near the ecliptic pole and inside the circle traced by the north celestial pole. A reference to a star-map will make it clear that the point of intersection on the ecliptic will have retromotion from Aśvinī to Revatī and so on round the whole ecliptic, once in 26000 years. This must have been the belief at the time of Vṛddha Garga. But actually the reference-point in the Great Bear lies outside the circle traced by the north pole. The result is that the point of intersection on the ecliptic will

not go round it completely, but will oscillate in an arc of 28 degrees, roughly extending from the yoga-tara of Maghā (Regulus: longitude 129 deg.) to the yoga-tara of Citra (Spica longitude 180 deg.). I leave it to expert astronomers to determine the limits more accurately and to work out more details. My aim is merely to draw their attention to the problem, since it appears to have been the genesis of the Libration Theory of Precession entertained by Varāhamihira and other astronomers of the *Siddhānta* school. I append herewith Pargiter's translation of the verses common to all the *Purāṇas* concerning the *Saptarṣi* cycle. (page 75 *Dynasties of the Kali age*). Pargiter has suggested some emendations in the first verse referring to Pratipa. They are unnecessary. (The verse is correct as it stands.). The first verse runs thus in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*: *Saptarṣayah tadā prābhub Pratipe rājñi vai satam; śapta vimśaiḥ sataih bhavya Andhrāṇām te tvayā punaḥ*. The *Saptarṣi* constellation was conjoined with its own nakṣatra for 100 years in the reign of Pratipa; they will be there again twenty seven centuries later at the close of the Andhras. Pargiter's note is quite apt. "Thus the period from Pratipa to the end of the Andhras comprised a complete cycle of the Great Bear and then the cycle began again." The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the correct version of the subsequent verses. *Saptavimśati paryante Kṛtsne nakṣatramandale (Vāyu), Saptarṣayas tu tiṣṭhanti paryāyeṇa satam satam. Saptarṣīṇām yugam hyetad divyaya sankhyasmṛtam. Samā divyah smṛtaḥ sāstre divyabdhāni tu saptabhiḥ. Tebhyah pravatate kālo divyah saptarṣibhis tu vai. Saptarṣīṇām tu yau pūrvau drśyate uditan nīsi. Tayor madhye tu nakṣatram drśyate yat samam divi; Tenasaptarṣayoyuktā jñeyā vyomni satam samāh. Nakṣatrāṇām rṣīṇāṅca yogasyaitan nidarśanam. Saptarṣayo Maghā yuktāḥ kāle Parikṣite satam; Andhrānte tu caturvimśe bhaviṣyanti satam samāh*". "In the circle of the lunar constellations, wherein the Great Bear revolves, and which contains 27 constellations in its circumference, the Great Bear remains 100 years con-

joined with each in turn. This is the cycle of the Great Bear, and is remembered as being, according to divine reckoning, sixty years and seven years. According to those constellations divine time proceeds by means of the Great Bear. The two front stars of the Great Bear, which are seen when risen at night, the lunar constellation which is seen situated equally between them in the sky, the Great Bear is to be known as conjoined with that constellation 100 years in the sky. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar constellations and the Great Bear. The Great Bear was conjoined with the *Maghār* in Parikṣita's time 100 years. It will be conjoined with the twenty-fourth constellation 100 years at the termination of the *Andhras*". Brennand suggested that the idea that the *Saptarṣis* spent 100 years in each *nakṣatra* should have originated in a mistake committed by the scribe, who mis-read 100 for 1000. As the text was regarded sacrosanct, none dared to correct it, even if they had the capacity. We learn that the original text of the Purāṇas was in *Prākṛit* and in *kharoṣṭi* script. Pargiter points out many mis-readings due to confusion of letters.

(Vide—*Dynasties of the Kali Age*. p xxiv. art. 41.)

He writes : " Misreadings could easily affect other numerals. Again *daśa* and *śata* are sometimes confused, and since *daśa* appears in *Prākṛit* as *daśa* and *daśa*, and *śasa* as *śada* and *sada*, either word might easily be altered for the other, since metathesis occurs in the manuscripts." (vide example under foot-note). My own impression is that the phrase ; *Paryāyēṇa śātam śātam* should originally have read as—*Paryāyēṇa daśam śatam*. Garga's original sentence should be : *Saptarṣayas tu Tiṣṭhanti paryāyēṇa Daśam Śatam* (Ten Hundred), giving the rate of precession at 1000 years per *Nakṣatra*—as against the modern value of 960 years per *Nakṣatra*. This inference is borne out by the very next verse of the Purāṇa, which gives the correct rate of precession—at sixty-seven divine years per full cycle, i.e., precession through 27 *nakṣatras* in 67×360

(or 24120) years ; or the rate 893. 3 years per *nakṣatra* or 67 years per degree—as against the modern value : 72 years per degree. It is therefore highly probable that Garga had not only understood the phenomenon of precession but had formed an accurate measure of the rate from the statements in the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* about the shift of the equinoxial and solstitial points (vide my article on the *Pravargya* Legend in the *Poona Orientalist* Jan. 1943). The Purāṇas accepted the faulty reading and built their 2700 year cycle on it.

6. Whatever might have been the genesis of the *Sapatarṣi* cycle of 2700 years, the statements about Pratiṭpa and the Andhras were undoubtedly based on an assumption of its validity. The remark that 2700 years would intervene between Pratiṭpa and the close of the Andhras merely gave concreteness to the traditional opinion obtaining at the time. According to Pargiter, Pratiṭpa was Parikṣita's ancestor in the seventh degree. A period of two hundred years should have separated them. So the interval between *Parikṣita* and the close of the *Andhra* rule would be (2700-100-200) about 2400 years. The last verse explicitly declares the interval to be about 2400 years. (*caturvimśe*). According to Rapson and other authorities coins record their rule up to about 226 A. D. This would give *Parikṣita* a date in 2100 B. C. If the Guptas are included in the dynasty as *Andhra-Bhṛtyas*, the close of the Andhra rule could be taken forward to 420 A. D. The Purāṇas say : *Andhrāṇām samsthite rajye teṣām bhṛtyanvayā nṛpāḥ, saptaiva Andhra bhaviṣyanti. Andhrāḥ bhokṣyanti vasudhām, sate dve ca śatañca vai.* Kumāragupta the seventh king of the Gupta dynasty is usually assigned the date 414 B.C. According to *Prakrit* usage, the phrase *sate dve śatam ca vai* could be interpreted as 102 or 100. We can assume the rule of the elder *Andhras* to have continued up to the establishment of the Guptas. Thus the several statements

of the *Purāṇas* point to the commencement of the second millennium before Christ as the date of Parikṣita and the Mahābhārata War. It might have been earlier still, but not later.

7. The significance of the statement in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* that the Saptarṣis would be in *Pūrvāṣāḍhas* at the time of the *Nandas* has not been rightly understood. *Viṣṇu citti* and *Srēdharaswāmī* point out that the remark should not be taken as a time-indicator. The prediction only referred to the prevalence of the evils of the Kali age in right earnest as indicated by the triumph of the *Sūdra* kings over the ancient *Kṣatriyas*, and the acquisition of power by the *Mlecchas*. The prophesied presence of the *Saptarṣis* was not a record of observation. Even if it is taken to be a time-indicator, the interval between *Parikṣita* and the *Nandas* will not be 1000 or 1100 years. As I have already pointed out, the *Purāṇic* conception of the movement of the *Saptarṣis* among the *nakṣatras* is a paraphrase of the fact of precession. The *nakṣatras* are to be counted backwards. The *Saptarṣis* left *Maghā* during the reign of *Parikṣita* (seventy-five years of their stay in *Maghā* had elapsed at the end of Yudhiṣṭhra's reign vide ?). They would be entering the *Pūrvāṣāḍhas* from the *Uttarāṣāḍhas* towards the close of the *Nandas*. The number of *nakṣatras* separating the *Pūrvāṣāḍhas* from *Maghā* would thus be sixteen, indicating an interval of not less than 1600 years. Add the 800 years interval from Mahāpadma to the end of the Andhras to this estimate and you get 2400 years, the interval already predicted in the foregoing verses. Thus the several statements of the *Purāṇas* are mutually consistent and embody the traditional reckoning. I find that 2052 B. C. satisfies the astronomical observations as closely as 1198 B. C. Counting dates from sunrise, there was a solar eclipse at sunrise on 28 Dec. 2067 B. C. and a lunar eclipse near moon-set on the night of 10th Jan. 2066 B. C.

thirteenth day later. During the year 2053-52 B. C. Jupiter and Saturn spent a full year near *Viśākā*: Jupiter backing from 206 to 195 and Saturn from 217 to 210. The planetary positions on the day of battle (new-moon ending *Amānta Kārtika*.) were as follows : 1. Sun 223; 2. Moon 223; 3. Mars 243; 4. Mercury 209; 5. Jupiter 218; 6. Venus 264; 7. Saturn 220; 8. *Rāhu* 210; 9. Comet. 229. Just before the battle, there was a solar eclipse on 13th Sept. a lunar on 29th Sept. and battle began on 13th Oct. 2052. (We find $2052 + 1050 = 3102$ B.C. Makhadeva's coronation coincided with the commencement of *Kaliyuga*). I leave the accurate determination and verification of these elements to expert astronomers.

AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN THE LIGHT OF ĀBHĀSAVĀDA

By K. C. PANDEY

(Continued from page 30)

To answer this they postulate a new cognising activity called Bhoga and the experience they represent to be Ānanda. Let us, therefore, see what is the implication of these expressions in the known schools of philosophy.

Vedānta Metaphysics and Ānanda

The variety of the ordinary experiences can be brought under three heads :—(1) pleasure, (2) pain and (3) insensibility. Similarly, states in the life of the conscious being can be put under three heads—

- (i) The state of knowing,
- (ii) Acting, and
- (iii) Senselessness. But in ordinary life pleasure, pain and insensibility are not unmixed, nor are so knowledge, action and senselessness.

The ultimate cause of both the sets, mentioned above, is the triad of qualities Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, which constitute Avidyā or ignorance.

There is no moment in the life of the individual in which they are inoperative. There is no determinate knowledge which does not arouse attitudes and responses. And the determinate knowledge of one thing means the ignorance of others. The only thing is that at some moment one is predominantly operative and at others another. Thus in ordinary life one of them is always shrouded by the other two. Still occasionally one of them attains predominance over the rest. Predominance of Sattva is pleasure, of Rajas, pain and of Tamas, senselessness. Bliss (Ānanda), therefore, in its technical restricted

sense is not possible to an individual so long as the individuality persists.

The universal self, as admitted by the Vedānta to explain the phenomenal world, is also associated with the Avidyā, but that is not individual, that is sumtotal of all the individual Avidyās, that is the root cause of everything, that is the object of experience, it is also constituted by the same three qualities. But in this triad there is the predominance of the perfectly pure Sattva. This perfect purity is due to the fact that the Rajas is totally inoperative because the field of its operation, the limited objective world in its full development, does not exist. And the Tamas being the opposite of the Sattva is as inoperative as the darkness can be in the presence of light. This universal Avidyā with the predominance of pure Sattva is Ānandamayakośa of the Universal Self. Bliss (Ānanda), therefore, as distinct from pleasure (Sukha) according to the Vedānta, is predominant and perfectly pure Sattva, as related to the Universal Self. The predominance is due to inoperativity of the other two, because of absence of the limited phenomenal world.

Sāṅkhya Conception of Bhoga

Bhoga involves the following four :—

1. Puruṣa identified with its reflection falling on the Buddhi. 2. Buddhi, which receives the reflection of Puruṣa from within and that of the object from without.
3. The reflection of the object on the Buddhi. 4. Ahaṅkāra which is responsible :

- (a) for the unification of the two reflections of the subject and the object,
- (b) for identification of the reflection of the subject with the subject itself,
- (c) for the use of this union of the subject and the object for practical purposes,
- (d) for the rise of consciousness "I know this."

The Process

1. The Buddhi receives the reflection of the object from without. 2. The reflection of the subject comes from within. 3. Ahaṅkāra unites them. 4. The two reflections merge into each other. 5. The object shines. This shining of the object because of union with the subject is the culminating point of the process described so far. Hence, it is spoken of as the fruit of the cognitive activity. It is called Jñāna.

Union of the reflections of the subject and the object, when used for practical purposes by Ahaṅkāra by giving rise to the consciousness "I know this" which refers the object to the subject without recognising the difference between the subject and its reflection is called *Bhoga*, because it involves the union of the two reflections in the common ground of the Buddhi and also because the consciousness that has been aroused by Ahaṅkāra has the common substratum with the reflection of the Puruṣa.

The Conception of Bhoga

According to Yoga system—("Sattvapuruṣayoḥ atyantasaṅkīrṇayoḥ pratyayavīśeṣo bhogab"). Sattva in Yoga terminology is the same thing as Buddhi. It is insentient. And Puruṣa is sentient or sentiency itself. They are thus of opposite nature. Therefore, no such union between them is possible as between "lotus" and 'blue'. In intellectual reaction to the stimulus, however, in practical life, there is no consciousness of difference between them. This consciousness of identity of Buddhi and Puruṣa in practical life is technically called *Bhoga*.

Vaiśeṣika Conception of Bhoga

According to the Vaiśeṣika also the knowledge (Jñāna) is distinct from the self. The *Bhoga*, the reference of the knowledge to the self, therefore, is explained in terms of relation of inherence. Thus according to the

Vaiśeṣika also, relation is involved in Bhoga, though not Saṃyoga, as according to the Sāṅkhya, but Samavāya.

The Criticism of the New Technique

From the above explanation of Bhoga and Ānanda it is clear that the two cannot go together. Bhoga, according to all systems of thought involves subject—object relation. But Ānanda, which is nothing but the predominance of pure Sattva, is not possible so long as the subject—object relation persists. Bhoga is the opposite of Mokṣa which consists in Ānanda. Thus, the new theory is unsound because it brings in the contradictory conceptions to explain the aesthetic experience.

Epistemic Technique of Ābhāsavāda

1. *Pramāṇa*: The means of knowledge is not, like that of the Sāṅkhya, Buddhi, which is perfectly independent and different from the principle of consciousness (cit or puruṣa) but the light of cit itself as a limited manifestation of the Universal consciousness, proceeding towards the object and receiving its reflection.

2. *Pramātā*: This cit has two aspects:—(1) It sends its light towards the object, and as such it is the means of knowledge. (2) But it is self-conscious also, and as such it is the subject of knowledge, *the knower*. It persists even when there is no cognitive activity going on. When there is no objective world to cast its reflections, as such it is self-luminous. It is like a flame which keeps burning irrespective of the fact whether there is anything to illuminate or not. Kāla, Niyati, Rāga, Vidyā and Kalā are its limiting conditions.

3. *Pramiti*: This steady flame, when affected by the consciousness of the object, that is, when it reacts on the reflection of the object, when there arises the inner expression in it, is knowledge (*Pramiti*).

Metaphysical Implication of the Epistemic Technique of Ābhāsavāda

Everything, excepting the ultimate is Ābhāsa. All Ābhāsas are the manifestations of the Ultimate. Thus the subject, the object, the means of knowledge and knowledge itself is an Ābhāsa. Ābhāsa is an isolated manifestation for which in practical life a single expression is used.

4. *Prameya*

In the light of the above metaphysical implication, let us see what is the object of the cognitive activity (Prameya). The cognitive activity is of two kinds :—(1) Primary and (2) Secondary. The primary begins with the movement of the light of the limited self towards the isolated objective Ābhāsa. It receives the objective reflection. It terminates with the mental reaction which consists in the rise of the inner expression which stands for the isolated objective Ābhāsa. (*Pratyābhāsam pramāṇavyāpāra!*). Thus the object of primary cognition is very much like the universal, which the Vaiyākaraṇas hold to be the meaning (artha) of the individual expression. As such it is free from time and space limit. Everything is not primarily given in objective time and space. The isolated Ābhāsa is real; because (1) it is the only object of the primary cognitive activity, (2) it alone is the object of mental reaction, and (3) the causal efficiency of an object in practical life depends entirely on it. The secondary cognitive activity consists in the mere unification of the various Ābhāsas, separately cognised by the primary activity. It is responsible for bringing about a configuration of Ābhāsas which is the object of action, as distinct from mere knowledge, inspired by the purposive attitude of the cogniser. For, such an object is not an isolated Ābhāsa, but a configuration of innumerable Ābhāsas ; of as many Ābhāsas as may be the words used by different cognisers from different points of view.

The causal efficiency, or the use of an object for practical purposes, depends on the unification of some of the constituent Ābhāsas of an object into a whole. This whole is called by a word standing for the most needed or desired Ābhāsa.

The constituents of an object are not always the same to every person. They differ with the difference in individual (1) predilection (Ruci), (2) purposive attitude (Arthitva) and (3) the capacity to know (Vyutpatti).

The time and the space are not always the necessary constituents of an object of cognition. Everything is not always necessarily cognised in time and space relations.

The fire and the smoke, for instance, at the time of the acquisition of their invariable concomitance are not associated with external time and space; nor is the object at the time of acquisition of the conventional expression.

The Ābhāsa, as an object of primary cognitive activity is as good as the Universal (*Sāmānyāyamāne Pramāṇa Vyāpārah*). The space and time relations only individualise it. The object, the configuration of Ābhāsas, is related to time and space when it is desired to be made an object of practical utility. Hence, when there is no such desire, it is free from the external time and space relations.

This is epistemic technique adopted to explain the ordinary experience of the objective world. The epistemic technique adopted to explain the aesthetic experience is very different from this.

1. The subject is not limited by the five ordinary limiting conditions: (1) Kāla, (2) Niyati, (3) Rāga, (4) Vidyā and (5) Kalā, but entirely free from them. Their place is taken by (1) aesthetic taste (Rasikatva), (2) aesthetic susceptibility (Sahṛdayatva), (3) power of aesthetic visualisation (Pratibhā), (4) intellectual background, and (5) contemplative habit. They have been dealt with in my paper "*Abhinava's theory of Meaning.*"

(2) The aesthetic *object* also has its own peculiarities. The most important being the freedom from time and space relation and ultimately from all that gives objectivity to the object.

(3) The subjective reaction also to the presented is different in as much as it is not determined by the subjective categories for the simple reason that the subject is free from all limitations.

(4) Hence the resultant experience also is different from all that we have in ordinary life.

Ordinary Object is Unity in Multiplicity

It is undeniable fact that in ordinary life the expression such as 'Jar' is used for an external object which is a configuration of many looked upon as one, and, therefore, the view that the means of knowledge applies to an isolated constituent of the configuration (*Pratyābhāsam pramāṇasya viśrāntiḥ*) may look to be unsound. It will, however, be clear to an analytical observer that the unity is consequent on the perception of multiplicity and is due to all that is separately cognised appearing on a common basis, the particular constituents of the configuration which, because of the attitude of the perceiver, figures as the most important.

It may be elaborated as follows :—There is no cognition devoid of the consciousness of the universal, the universal presents the farthest limit of analysis, and its cognition is presupposed in the cognition of the particular. This particular though cognised as one by the unanalytical mind is not really so. It admits of analysis into multiplicity of its constituents. The analysis is possible in three different ways :

- (1) According to the convention;
- (2) Free from all conventional restriction;
- (3) According to need of the analyst.

The human mind is so constituted that often to complete the cognitive process, it reacts on isolated constituent of a possible configuration. In such a case there arises the consciousness of mere being, the all-pervasive universal (Parasāmānya) or conceptual universal (apara—sāmānya). The isolated universal which marks the farthest limit of cognitive analysis, which to the analytical mind is the object of cognitive reaction, to which alone the conventional expression refers, and in which the causal efficiency rests is *Ābhāsa*. It is pure unity. The idea of unity in a configuration of the *Ābhāsas* involves multiplicity which is looked upon as unity because the constituents of multiplicity rest on a common basis, the time and the space or the most important *Ābhāsa* to a man with purposive attitude at a particular time.

Practical life is entirely dependent on the unification of *Ābhāsas*. The isolated *Ābhāsa*, has no practical utility. In order that it may be an object of action, as distinct from mere cognition, it must be united with some other *Ābhāsas*, at least the external time and space.

Unchanging nature of the Ābhāsa

The *Ābhāsa* does not change even when it is united with others. The *Ābhāsa* of generic form, for instance, that for which the word 'Jar' is used, without implying the matter clay or silver etc. of which it may be made, even when united with other *Ābhāsas*, e.g. red, earthen and high etc. and so appearing as distinct from the generic form because of its being looked upon as the substantive of the attributes "red" etc., does not change its essential nature of generic form, which was experienced before.

The relation between the universal and particular

The relation between the universal and the particular is similar to that of canvas and the picture. Just as the canvas admits of divisions into as many constituents as may be the lines that an artist may like to draw on it. (1)

according to his own conception, or (2) the tradition, or (3) aim or purpose, so does what is ordinarily taken to be one object. Multiplicity is like lines and unity the canvas.

Time and space as the basis of particularity

The common basis, on which the constituents of multiplicity unite when the object is purposively viewed is constituted by the external time and space. They do not figure in free and conventional cognition (Yathāruçi Yathā vyutpatti). They figure only in the purposive cognition. They do not figure when we are visualising conventional meaning of a linguistic expression, for, according to the philosophy of grammar, the linguistic symbol stands for the universal alone. Even the word "this" (Ayam) stands for the universal. 'This' which is common to all that is objective (Sarvabhāva-gatedantā sāmānya) and not the particular. And the free cognition would cease to be free if it be limited by time and space.

The Implication of Universality (Sādhāraṇībhāva) according to Ābhāsavāda

We have discussed above, in the brief sketch of the *Ābhāsavāda*, the essential nature of the universal and the particular. Particularity consists in the time and space relation of the *Ābhāsa*, the universal. And the universal, the *Ābhāsa*, is free from such relations. The former is a configuration, a unity in multiplicity, (Ekānekarūporthah). (Viśiṣṭah Padārthah). And the latter is the universal, not such as is due to the generalisation, based on the perception of a persistent element in a number of different objects but that, which united with others, constitutes the very being of a particular object. The one is Svalakṣaṇa and the other is Sāmānya—lakṣaṇa.

Criticism of the Sādhāraṇīkarāṇa Theory

The words Samāna and Sādhāraṇa are synonymous. They are the opposite of viśiṣṭa. The difference of the

former from the latter is characterised by freedom from the time and the space relation. If, therefore, Sādhāraṇī-karaṇa, be nothing but freeing the presented from time and space relation, that would not explain the aesthetic experience. For the aesthetic experience is not a mere objective cognition of the universal basic mental state. And even if we accept it to be so the objective cognition of such a mental state is a psychological impossibility, as we have already stated above. Further, even if we admit the objective cognition of the universal basic mental state, such a cognition would, in no way be different from the ordinary cognition of a universal, as such it should admit of presentation in the linguistic expression, for the linguistic expressions stand for the universal.

Thus even if the poetic language be accepted to have the power of universalisation that would not explain the aesthetic experience. For, according to this, the aesthetic experience would be the cognition of the universalised basic mental state. But it is an indefensible position. The reasons may be stated as follows:—

1. It is inconsistent with another aesthetic view of the exponent of the universalisation theory, namely, that the basic mental state does not admit of the presentation in linguistic terms. For, if the aesthetic experience be simply the cognition of the universalised basic mental state (Sthāyī) it should admit of presentation in language. Because the linguistic expression stand for the universal.

2. It is also inconsistent with the presentation of this experience as a state of “*Blissfulness*” (Ānanda).

For, in the Blissful state, the objective cognition even of the universal is not possible. Blissfulness and objective cognition do not go together. Thus, even if the two powers of the poetic language (1) the Bhāvakatva and (2) the Bhojakatva be admitted, the aesthetic experience would still

remain unexplained, even as it is admitted to be by the exponent of the universalisation theory.

Abhinava's contribution

1. Identification and psychological process involved in it. 2. The Sthāyī not objectively cognised but subjectively experienced through the rise of Vāsanā. 3. The psycho-philosophical reasons for the subjective condition involved in the experience. 4. The relation of the various contents of the objective aspect of experience. 5. The implication of universalisation of the objective aspect. 6. Nature of the aesthetic experience. 7. Triadic relation. 8. Cooperation of the subjective conditions of the spectator with the peculiar nature of the aesthetic object and its effects.

The space does not permit me to deal with all the eight points referred to above. I shall, therefore confine myself to briefly dealing with the last point only.

There are seven obstacles to the aesthetic experience. The co-operation between the subjective conditions of the aesthetic spectator with the peculiar nature of the aesthetic presentation, removes them all. They may be stated as follows :—

1. Lack of capacity to get at the meaning (Sambhāvanā viraha). It arises from the idea of impossibility of the presented. To get over this (a) on the subjective side sahrdayatva is necessary and (b) on the objective side of the presentation of a well-known event in the case of the social drama and in that of the transcendental (lokottara) name of a person, the idea of the historic reality which has taken deep root in the hearts of those who are seeing the presentation, because of the persistence of the tradition. Such a name has the capacity to arouse a flood of associated ideas which prevent the rise of the idea of impossibility of the presented,

(2, 3) Subjective and objective limitations of time and space. (*Svagata paragatatva niyamena desakālavīṣeṣaveśab*).

The means of eliminating the objective limitations—
(1) the dramatic technique, followed in the presentation of the introductory scene which introduces the actor as such and then concealing his identity with suitable dress paints and speak with peculiar intonation such as fits in with the historic associations of the name that is given to the hero, are the means of universalising the presentation.

Similarly music etc., which are well-known to bring about the self forgetfulness in the hearer are the means of subjective universalisation.

4. *The influence of personal joys and sorrow.*

Nija sukha dukkhādi vivaśībbāvah.

Self forgetfulness brought about by music etc. is the means to get over it.

5. *Lack of clarity due to insufficient stimulus (Pratītyupāya vaikalya sphuṭatvābbāvah.)*

The mind does not get rightful satisfaction if the knowledge is from the inferential signs or linguistic symbols. To bring about the sufficiency in the stimulative capacity of the dramatic presentation acting is introduced which has the stimulating effect almost as good as does the really directly present.

6. *Subordination of the Principal*

(*Apradhānatā*)

The mind does not get the restful satisfaction in that which occupies a subordinate position. Its natural tendency at the presentation of the subordinate is to seek for or run to the principal. In order, therefore, to give the restful satisfaction, the Sthāyī is given the predominant position in the midst of the situation etc.

7. *Dubiousness of the Presentation.*

(Saṁśaya Yogah.)

The situation etc., have no fixed definite meaning in isolation from other constituents of the dramatic presentation. In order to obviate this dubiousness of the situation, mimetic changes and transient emotions are presented together.

Conclusion

The aesthetic experience, thus, in the light of Ābhāsavāda is not the objective cognition of a basic mental state, but the self-experience of the self free from all limitations as identified with the basic mental state becoming patent through the rise of Vāsanā due to identification with the focus of the situation.

WERE THE GUPTAS CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH THE KUŚĀNS ?

By V. LAKSHMINARAYANA

Mr. D. N. Mukherjee has tried to maintain that Candragupta I was contemporaneous with Kaniṣka.¹ In this paper, we shall examine some of the important arguments advanced by Mr. Mukherjee and give our own reasons for maintaining that the Guptas could not be contemporaneous with the Kuśāns.

Mr. Mukherjee has based his arguments mainly on what is stated in the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, a Tibetan history of the rise, progress and downfall of Buddhism in India, written in A.D. 1745. He has tried to show that Candragupta (II), Aśvaghōṣa, Āryadēva and Kaniṣka were contemporaneous with each other.² The *Pag-Sam* states that when Candragupta was ruling in the Eastern country, there was a king named Kaniṣka towards the west, (Delhi and Mālwa). Mr. Mukherjee identifies this Kaniṣka with Kaniṣka (II), grandson of Kaniṣka, according to him and he has assigned Kaniṣka (II) to Saṃvat 61-77³. He has identified Kanika with Kaniṣka (II) due to the following reason. Kanika is said (in the *Pag-Sam*) to have invited Aśvaghōṣa to his court but the latter being too old sent a letter to the former called '*Maḥārāja-Kanika-Lēkha*' through a disciple. Now there are some stories according to which Aśvaghōṣa was a courtier of Kaniṣka. Mr. Mukherjee argues that Kanika is not

* ¹ D. N. Mukherjee, "*The contemporaneity of Chandragupta and Kaniṣka*," *Poona Orientalist*, V, pp. 197-204. (See also the same author's paper on the same topic in the *Proceedings of the third session of the Indian History Congress*).

² *Ibid*; V. p. 204.

³ *Ibid*; V. P. 198.

identical with Kaniṣka, as Aśvaghōṣa is said to have been a courtier of Kaniṣka while he is also mentioned as declining to go to the court of Kanika due to old age. But it is possible that Aśvaghōṣa attended the court of Kanika sometimes before the incident of the former's refusal, due to one or more reasons, occurred. The incident might be what happened only once at a particular time in the relations between Aśvaghōṣa and Kanika. So it is possible that Kanika is Kaniṣka himself. Then Kaniṣka would be contemporaneous with Candragupta II himself. We have argued in the above manner only to show that Kanika might be Kaniṣka himself. But we shall show below that the Guptas were not in fact contemporaneous with the Kuṣāns, and that we must not accept what is stated in the *Pag-Sam* unless it is supported by other evidences like the epigraphic or the numismatic.

Mr. Mukherjee reads between the lines and thinks that there is a hint for the contemporaneity of Kanika (i.e. Kaniṣka II according to him) and Candragupta II in a passage in the *Mahārāja-Kanika-Lēkha*. The passage runs thus :—“Since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun, act, O moon of kings like the moon.” Mr. Mukherjee says that in this passage Kanika is advised to imitate the good qualities of king Candragupta II. But one cannot be sure on this point.

Mr. Mukherjee brings the following argument in favour of the contemporaneity of the Guptas and the Kuṣāns. He says, “We know that Samudragupta as crown-prince defeated the Daivāputra-Śāhi-Śāhānuṣāhi. This title is characteristic only of the Kaniṣka group of kings. This shows clearly the contemporaneity of the Imperial Guptas and the Kuṣhans⁴.” But there is no evidence at all that Samudragupta entered into an actual war with the Daivaputra-Śāhi-Śāhā-

⁴ *Ibid.*, V. P. 203.

nuṣāhi, Śakas, and Murundas, etc., and that he defeated them and that too as a crown-prince. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta⁵ (line 23) only implies that they recognised the suzerainty of Samudragupta by requesting him for granting Charters (śāsana) confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories (*sva-viśaya-bhukti*) and having the (mark of the) garuḍa-seal (garutma-daṅka) on them.⁶ Mr. Mukherjee says that the titles of Daiva-putra, Śāhi, Śāhānuśāhi, are characteristics of only the Kaniṣka group of kings. But it is quite possible that the titles continued to be used in the time of some of the later Kuśāns also, though their dominions and glory were diminished. We know that the later Kuśāns (Kidara Kuśāns) continued to rule as late as the second half of the ninth century A. D. Their capital, Kabul, was finally taken by the Moslems in 870 A.D.⁷

If we make the Guptas and the Kuśāns contemporaries with each other, there are some insurmountable difficulties. For example, Candragupta II and Vāsudeva would be ruling at the same time in the same region of Mathura. Several inscriptions prove that Vāsudeva ruled at Mathura. His inscriptions have been found only in that region.⁸ But we have also some inscriptions of Candragupta II from Mathura.⁹ According to the theory of Mr. Mukherjee, Candragupta II and Vāsudeva would be contemporaries

⁵ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

⁶ For a discussion of the meaning of lines 23-24 of the Allahabad pillar inscription, see the author's paper "*A passage in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and its significance.*" J.A.H.R.S., XIII, pp. 141-144.

⁷ H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 304 (2nd Ed.).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 4, p. 25. Another inscription of Candragupta II from Mathura is edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, E.I. Vol. XXI, No. 1.

with each other. (The dates of Vāsudeva range from the years 74 to 98¹⁰ and those of Candragupta II from 61 to 93). But we have shown that this leads to the absurdity of two sovereigns ruling at the same time in the same place. So the Guptas could not have been contemporaries with the Kuśāns.

The same kind of difficulty as we have noticed with regard to Candragupta II and Vāsudeva arises in the case of Samudragupta and his Kuśān contemporary also. We know¹¹ from two Sarnath inscriptions that a certain Vanaṣpara was governor (Kṣatrapa) of a province, wherein Benares was included, under the Maha-kṣatrapa Kharapablāna in the time of Kaniṣka. So the Kuśān empire might have extended up to Benares at least in the east and perhaps farther also, as it is only stated that Benares was situated in the Kuśān province, not that it was its limit. According to the theory of Mr. Mukherjee, Kaniṣka would be contemporary with Candragupta I and also probably Samudragupta. Now, as the Kuśān empire extended up to Benares at least in the east and Gandhāra and Kāśmīr in the west, it included the territories (occupied by the Mālavas (Rājaputānā), Mādrakas, (Punjab) Yaudhēyas and Abhiras, etc. But L. 22 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta shows that the Mālavas, etc., along with some frontier kings formed part of his empire, as they paid all kinds of taxes to him, obeyed his orders, and came to perform obeisance. The above tribes could not be said to have recognised the Gupta and the Kuśān suzerainty at the same time. But it is just to this impossibility that we are led by working out the logical implications of the theory of Mr. Mukherjee. So his theory is untenable.

We can advance some more arguments against the theory of Mr. Mukherjee. He relies on what is stated in

¹⁰ H. Raychaudhuri '*Political History of Ancient India*' p. 302.

¹¹ Jayaswal, '*History of India*', p. 41.

the *Pag-Sam*. But it is a work written in the eighteenth century A. D. If we take Candragupta I, along with Mr. Mukherjee, to be ruling in 58 B. C., it means that the *Pag-Sam* was written about eighteen centuries after the time of Candragupta I. We cannot easily accept, what is stated in such a work, as authoritative and genuine on its face value. Mr. Mukherjee tries to defend the weakness of the *Pag-Sam* as a source for the history of Candragupta I by saying that Sumpa, the author of the *Pag-Sam*, revised the Tibetan books on Buddhism extant in China in the eighteenth century A. D. and so had opportunity to collect materials for his work from ancient books.¹² But a study of Tibetan books on Buddhism extant in his time could not suffice to make him a sound and critical historian giving accurate information about ancient India.

Further, the *Lāmā Tārānātha* and the *Pag-Sam* itself state that king Candragupta who was contemporaneous with Aśvaghōṣa, Āryadēva and Kanika was also a contemporary of Cāṇakya. If so, the Candragupta mentioned above must be the Mauryan Emperor, Candragupta, who was a contemporary of Cāṇakya. So he could not be the Gupta monarch Candragupta I. By abrogating the evidence of the *Pag-Sam* about the contemporaneity of Candragupta with Cāṇakya, Mr. Mukherjee denies the very authority of the *Pag-Sam* itself on which he relies for the contemporaneity of Candragupta I and Kaniṣka. It means that Mr. Mukherjee accepts the *Pag-Sam* as authoritative when it suits him and rejects when its evidence does not fit into his scheme of ancient Indian history and chronology. But this process of rejecting and accepting shows that we cannot rely on the *Pag-Sam*.

There is a reference to Samudragupta in the *Tantrī-Kāmandaka*, a Javanese text and one of the Far Eastern group

¹² *Poona Orientalist*, V. p. 197.

of *Pañcatantra* texts.¹³ The passage containing the reference runs thus :—

“In old times there was a king who traced his genealogy to the family of Samudragupta. His name was Maharaja Iśvāryapala and his capital was Pātālīputra-nagara in Jambūdvīpa, in Śrī Lāratāṇḍa”

The above passage connects the Guptas and the Pālas. In the *Rāmācarita* Dharmapāla is mentioned as ‘Samudrākuladīpa.’ This implies that he was born in the family of Samudragupta. We may take ‘Samudra’ in ‘Samudrakuladīpa’ as certainly referring to Samudragupta, in the light of the passage quoted from the *Tantrī Kāmandaka*. We may add here that in the Buddhist text of *Ārya-Maṅgala-Śrī-Mūlakaḥ* also Samudragupta is mentioned only as Samudragupta.¹⁴ Further if Samudra does not refer to Samudragupta, there will be no sense if we translate ‘Samudrakula’ as, ‘family of sea.’ Thus the *Tantrī Kāmandaka* and the *Rāmācarita* connect the Guptas and the Pālas genealogically. So Dr. R. C. Majumdar has said¹⁵ that by the eleventh Century A. D. a tradition of the descent of the Pāla kings from Samudragupta had probably grown up as the Imperial

¹³ Dr. R. C. Majumdar, ‘Literary reference to Samudragupta’, *I. H. Q.*, IX, pp. 930-32.

¹⁴ समुद्राख्यो नृपश्चैव विक्रमश्चैव कीर्तितः ।

महेन्द्रनृपवंशे मुख्यसकाराद्यो मतः परम् ॥ (MMK, 646).

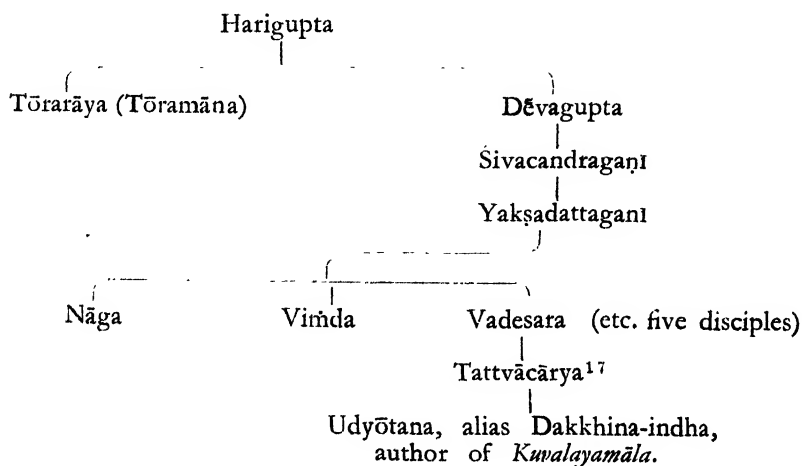
तस्याधरेण नृपतिस्तु समुद्राख्यो नाम कीर्तितः ।

(*Ibid.*, 700) (Text given at the end of Dr. Jayaswal’s ‘Imperial History of India.’). In the above Ślōkas, मतः परम् in 646, given in the Sanskrit text of the MMK is taken to be wrong by Dr. Jayaswal (p. 47 of the text given at the end of his ‘Imperial History’) and he took the Tibetan version of ततः परम् to be correct. But मतः may refer to महेन्द्र (i.e. Kumaragupta I) mentioned two words before मतः in the same Ślōka and मतः परम् may mean “after Ma (i.e. after Mahendra)”. So we need not take it to be wrong and accept ततः परम् as correct, as Dr. Jayaswal did. As for Ślōka 700, Dr. Jayaswal did not point out that there is redundancy in समुद्राख्यो नाम. नाम is superfluous after आख्य.

¹⁵ *I. H. Q.*, IX, p. 932.

Guptas, the Later Guptas and the Pālas had reigned in Magadha in almost unbroken succession. Now, if the Gupta era started in 58 B.C. and if the Guptas were contemporaries with the Kuṣāṇs, the Guptas and the Pālas would be separated by a long distance of time and there would have been no possibility for the growth of traditions (of the kind given above from the *Tantrī Kāmandaka* and the *Rāmacarita*) connecting the Guptas and the Pālas. So due to this evidence also we cannot accept the theory of Mr. Mukherjee.

Udyōtana sūri alias Dākṣinya-cihna wrote the *Kuvalaya-māla* (a Jaina romance in Prakrit) and completed it at Jābālipura on the fourteenth day, Caitra Vadi, Śaka Saṃvat 699, as he himself says in the *Kuvalayamāla*. According to the information given in Udyōtana's work, we may construct the following line of gurus and śiṣyas¹⁶:—



As Udyōtana finished his work about 778 A.D. we may take 725 A.D. as the year of his birth. As the above line of gurus shows we can know the time of Tōramāna by deducting the years for six generations from the birth-year

¹⁶ N.C. Mehta, 'Jaina record on Tōramāna' J.B.O.R.S., IX, pp. 28-38.

¹⁷ Two other gurus of Udyōtana are also mentioned.

of Udyōtana at the rate of thirty years for each generation. If so, the date of Tōramāna would fall in the first half of the sixth century A.D. If Udyōtana was born earlier the date of Tōramāna falls earlier. Now according to Hiuen Tsang¹⁸, Mihira Kula (son and successor of Tōramāna) was a contemporary of Bālāditya who defeated the former. This Bālāditya is generally identified with Narasimhagupta some of whose coins have 'Nara' and 'Baladitya' on them. But some scholars take him to be Bhānugupta.¹⁹ Whoever Gupta King was identical with Bālāditya, the evidence of the *Kuvalayamāla* shows that the Imperial Guptas could not be dragged back to the beginnings of the Christian era, as Tōramāna and Mihirakula were contemporaries with some of the Imperial Guptas and ruled so late as the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

The evidence of the Purāṇas also shows that the Guptas were not contemporaries with the Kuśāns. The *Matsya Purāṇa* stops with the fall of the Āndhras (i.e. the Śātavāhanas) about the middle of the second century A.D. according to the Purāṇas. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu* continue the story and begin with the Vindhyakas (i.e. Vākātakas). The Guptas were contemporaries with the Vākātakas as shown by the marriage of Prabhāvati Gupta (daughter of Candragupta II) with a Vākāṭaka prince. So the Guptas must have been later than the Āndhras or must have come in their closing period. So they could not be contemporaries with the Kuśāns.

¹⁸ Beal, *'Buddhist records of the Western World'*, I, P. 171.

¹⁹ H. Raychaudhuri, *'Political History'*, p. 368.

AN ATTEMPT AT DEMONSTRATION OF THE NON- NUMERICAL MATHEMATICAL DISCOURSE OF LINGUISTICS*

By C. R. SANKARAN AND G. S. GAI

Paul Radin draws attention to the mathematico-logical nature of linguistics. Leonard Bloomfield¹ is foremost among modern linguisticians² to speak about the foundations of linguistics in the same way as foundations of logic and mathematics are spoken about by great thinkers like Carnap³. Bloomfield specially lays stress on the postulational method in linguistics⁴ and speaks of the formulaic methods in linguistics as one belonging to the realm of non-numerical mathematical discourse⁵. In this paper, we mean to make an attempt to reduce the most important fundamental concepts in modern linguistics to a number of definitions, assumptions, phonetic laws, hypothesis, axioms and concepts and to suggest certain improvements in regard to them. The task we set ourselves is indeed ambitious. But we hope that an attempt of this kind is necessary as without a correct understanding of the fundamental concepts of the discipline it

* Read at the Hyderabad Oriental Conference in Dec. 1942.

¹ PAUL RADIN, *The Method and Theory of Ethnology*.

² L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 204-209 ; Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 220-233 ; Vol. X, 1934, pp. 32-40 ; *Linguistic aspects of Science, Foundations of the Unity of Science*, Vol. I, No. 4, The University of Chicago Press, 1939. Vide also E. SAPIR, "Totality" in *Language Monographs* Published by the Linguistic Society of America. No. VI, Sept. 1930.

³ R. CARNAP, *Foundations of Logic and Mathematics (Foundations of the Unity of Science, Vol. I, No. 3, University of Chicago Press, 1939)*.

⁴ L. BLOOMFIELD, *A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Language* Vol. II, 1926, pp. 153-164.

⁵ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 44.

may not be fruitful to undertake any important investigation in linguistics, specially with reference to certain very important but very much neglected fields like the Dravidian where the scholars are very few and in which we are greatly interested. It is our belief that even as Dravidian scholars have necessarily to adopt the method evolved and perfected by the Indo-Europeanists alone, much work of real importance in the Dravidian field now cannot be done unless a grasp over the fundamentals of the Science is firmly made. Our objective in writing this paper will be therefore achieved if this essay at least introduces to a band of scholars determined to work on the Dravidian field the fundamental works in this branch of science (linguistics) by great scholars like Bloomfield. It is unfortunate that works like these are not receiving the attention they deserve in our country. It is hoped that this paper will serve also to remove the "prepossessions of our common-sense views about language,"⁶ at least to a small extent.

First we will give the minimum number of definitions including those taken over from other sciences. Then we shall proceed to give some fundamental assumptions. Next in order will come certain fundamental phonetic laws of Indo-European Linguistics. These we shall call theorems. Then will come a few postulates, hypotheses, axioms and concepts and our suggested improvements.

I. *Definitions :*

(i) The subject matter of linguistics is human speech,⁷ comprising various families of languages, like the Indo-European, Dravidian, Hamito-Semitic, Ural-Altaic, etc.

(ii) *Human Language :*

We give two definitions of 'Language' more or less accepted generally in modern times. One is from E. Sapir, a

⁶ L. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 54.

famous linguisticians, and the other is from R. Carnap, a famous logician of the Vienna circle.

(a) "Language is purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols."⁸ This definition has been discussed by us elsewhere.⁹

(b) "A language is a system of activities or, rather, of habits, i.e., dispositions to certain activities, serving mainly for the purposes of communication and of co-ordination of activities among the members of a group."¹⁰

Linguistic science concerns itself with only "established natural languages that prevail in communities, and not of restricted systems of symbolism, such as appears in mathematics and logic."¹¹

(iii) Language consists of two aspects—the bio-physical and the bio-social.

Sound-producing movements and the resultant sound-waves and the vibration of the hearer's eardrums go to make up the bio-physical aspect.¹²

The training of persons in a community to produce certain speech-sounds in certain situations and to respond to them by appropriate actions go to make up the bio-social aspect.¹³

⁸ EDWARD SAPIR, *Language*, p. 4.

⁹ Vide C. R. SANKARAN, "Pagel's Gestures Theory of the Origin of Human Speech" published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXI pp. 229-247. 1941.

¹⁰ R. CARNAP, *Foundations of Logic and Mathematics*, p. 3.

¹¹ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 6.

Cf. also "Language originated as the creation of rational beings in the necessities of their temporal experience as is evident, for example, in the tenses of the verb. The inherent tendency of the mathematical logic is in the direction of diminishing the impurity into reasoning by time-factor." H. D. OAKELEY, "Epistemology and the logical syntax of Language", *Mind*, Vol. XLIX, No. 196, October 1940, p. 438. See also footnote 77 below.

¹² L. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9 and 55.

(iv) Certain typical unit signal sounds in certain fixed arrangements constitute the meaningful speech-form uttered by speakers in every community. These unit signal sounds have themselves no meaning. But phonemes may have an occasionally expressive value. This is purely a psychological question. A study of the relations between definite phonemes and definite elements of organic movements may perhaps help us to understand the occasionally expressive function of phonemes.¹⁴ Every language is made up out of a small number of these signal sounds. These are called phonemes.¹⁵ There has been an interesting controversy over the definition of phoneme. It is a moot question whether it can be ultimately defined as a physical or mental reality or "an abstractional fiction."¹⁶

Phonemes are classified under various heads: (a) the stop consonants like *k*, *t*, *p*, etc., (b) the nasal consonants like *n*, *ɲ*, *m*, etc., (c) the fricatives or continuants or spirants or sibilants and (d) vowels (or sonants) like *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, etc.

The interesting conclusion is reached by some scholars from a study of the Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages that the consonants are *more significant* than the

¹⁴ Cf. A. W. De GROOT, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel*, 65, Serie A, No. 2, Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 54-55; C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. I, 1939 40, pp. 97 and 416; also C. R. SANKARAN, *Madras University Journal*, Vol. 8, 1936, p. 79, fns. 1 and 2.

¹⁵ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science*, p. 21; W. F. TWADDELL, "On Defining the Phoneme" *Lang. Mono*, 16; M. J ANDRADE, *Language*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 1-14; M. SWADESH, *Language* Vol. X, 1934, pp. 117-129 and XI pp. 244-250; SAPIR, *Language* I, 1925, pp. 37-51; J. VACHEK, *Proceedings of 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, London, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

In the following works "Phoneme" is defined from various points of view: TWADDELL, *Language*, XII, 1936, 53-59: pp. 294-97, M. SWADESH, *Language* XIII, 1937, pp. 1-10; E. SAPIR, "L'arealite psychologique des phonemes" *Journal de Psychologie*, 30, pp. 247 ff.

¹⁶ See TWADDELL, "On Defining the phoneme", pp. 37-51.

vowels *for the sense*.¹⁷ This conclusion tallies with the significant name *vyāñjana* given to the consonants by the ancient Indian Grammarians (*vyāñjana—vyūjyate anena*, “by which is manifested”).

The consonants are further classified according to the place of articulation like the velars, palatals, dentals, labials, etc.

The distinction between a sonant and a consonant is really temporal, mathematically speaking. In other words, the duration of a sonant in utterance is longer than that of a consonant.¹⁸ Hence we have the semi-vowels classified between the sonants and the consonants as the significant name *antahstbāh* (given by the ancient Indian grammarians), indicates.

Each language has certain special phonemes which may not be met with in other language. Sanskrit has the *Jihvāmūlīya* and the *upadhmānīya* which we find in words like *anta* (*h*) *karana* and *adba* (*h*) *pāta* respectively.

In Tamil we have a special phoneme in words like *a : lu* ‘that’. The symbol *:* is called traditionally the *āyтам* or *āyutam*. In the oldest Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam*, half a dozen values are given to this sound. It is evident therefore that the Tamil in its oldest phase had a number of interesting variants of this phoneme.¹⁹

¹⁷ E. M. von HORBOSTEL, “*Laut und Sinn*,” *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 329-348.

¹⁸ Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, p. 101, fn. 3.

¹⁹ See article on this subject by C.R. SANKARAN and N. K. SRINIVASAN in the *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. II 1941.

Āyтам is said to appear in the middle of words between a short sonant phoneme and one of a group of the six voiceless consonant phonemes followed by a sonant phoneme :

It has been found necessary to postulate the existence of certain special phonemes like the "long sonant" nasals and liquids in the Proto Indo-European *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*²⁰. Acceptance of what is now known as, laryngeal hypothesis²¹ in some form or other, however, leads to an entirely a new system of description of the PIE. sounds. In this system there is no place for *a*, *i*, *u*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *r*.²²

Kuṛiyataṇ munṇar āyṭa-p pulli

Yuyiroṭu puṇarnta val lāraṇ micaittē (Tol. Elut. 38).

The group of six voiceless consonant phonemes referred to above are mentioned in the following sutra as *k*, *c*, *t*, *p* and *r* :

Vallelut tenpa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ra-(Tol., Elut 19 See also P. S. S. Sastri, *Hist. Grammat. Theories in Tamil*. p. 43. fn. 3)

The place of production of the *āyṭam* is determined by that of the consonant following it.

Cārntu-vari n-allatu tamakkiyal p-ila-v-eṇat

Tērntu-veli-p-paṭutta v-ēṇai mūṇṇun.

Tattaṇ cārpīr piṇappoṭu civaṇi.

Yotta kātciyir ram-m-iyal p-iyalum (Tol, Elut. 101).

²⁰ Vide C. R. SANKARAN, "Theories about Ablaut," *JORM*, Vol. XIII, 1939., p. 314.

Vide also C. R. SANKARAN, "Contributions in the Study of Indo-European Accent," *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 186.

"The fundamental tone material of the Indo-European languages" is discussed in Mark H. LIDDELL's "The Physical Characteristics of Speech Sound," *Bull. of Purdue University* (Publications of the Engineering Depts. Bull., No. 16, Engineering Experiment Station), Vol. VIII, March 1924, No. I pp. 12-14.

²¹ Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *JORM.*, Vol. XII, 1938, p. 280, fn. 3 and Vol. XIII, 1939, pp. 94-96. Vide also WALTER PETERSEN, *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 307-322, J. KURYLOWICZ, *BSL.*, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 25-27. Scholars like A. B. KEITH (*IHQ*, Vol. 16, 1940, p 427), who have absolutely no sympathy for the laryngeal hypothesis in some form or other are also to be found.

²² Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, "From Sapir's Desk," *Language* Vol. 15, 1939, p. 181, fn.2. This view might be compared with an attempt to derive from a simple macro-phoneme of unstable medium quality in the PIE, what might have been originally its phonemic variants

(v) Phonemic variant. A phonemic variant is not distinct from the phoneme whose variant it is supposed to be, only when the sense is invariant. In other words the replacement of one phonemic variant (x_1) by another (x_2) does not affect the sense of the word. What may be only a phonemic variant in one language may be a distinct phoneme in another language.

Example : In Kannaḍa, at any rate as we find it written in modern times, there seems to be no phonemic distinction between the simple cerebral r (δ) and alveolar r (ω) phonemes and perhaps in Old Kannada they might have been phonemic variants merely. Similar is the status of the phonemes l (δ) and l (ω).²³

In Tamil there are clearly two distinct phonemes r (simple cerebral) and r (alveolar η)

Another interesting example of phonetic variants in a language are v and w in the Indo-Aryan. In Sanskrit, we meet only with a single symbol (ॠ) standing for both v and w .²⁴ Marathi v seems to be a bilabial (?) phoneme.²⁵ Even in the Dravidian, v and w seem to be only phonemic

e , o and a by the influence of the musical character of the IE accent. Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *JORM*, Vol. XIII, 1939, p. 98.

See E. H. TUTTLE, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 40, 1919, p. 77.

²³ TUTTLE thinks that the symbol () (for possibly an older alveolar r) stood for a phoneme which was similar to the *costilian* r in old Kannada and Telugu.

Modern Mysore Kannada has only the voiced 'clear' l (the tongue is put forward in the mouth in articulating this phoneme. Vide T. N. SREEKANTAIYA, "English as the Kannadiga speaks it," *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies*, Mysore, No. I, October, 1940, p. 16) Tamil l is also "very clearly pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the teeth ridge near the teeth." See FIRTH, Appendix to A. H. ARDEN's *Tamil Grammar*, 1934, p. XIV.

²⁴ The former seems to have replaced the latter except after less sonorous sounds, cf. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 57.

²⁵ JULES BLOCH, *Formation de la langue marathe*, Paris 1915, Section 153.

variants, for as CALDWELL points out, *w* is generally used for *v* in the spoken Kannaḍa and sometimes in Tamil. As there is the change of *w* from *v* in Indo-Portuguese most likely due to the influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan and Dravidian tongues,²⁶ in that language also *v* and *w* are, now at any rate, only phonemic variants. In Tamil the *v* is a lax frictionless continuant.²⁷ T. N. Sreekantaiya observes that the Mysore Kannaḍa has the trilled lingual *r* which according to him is a one-tap sound having a number of interesting variants.²⁸ T. N. Sreekantaiya further points out that the Mysore Kannaḍiga fails to distinguish between *v* and *w* as in his dialect the labiodental continuant is the only distinct phoneme of this type, the bi-labial articulation occurring mostly when a back vowel follows it.²⁹

For definitions of morpheme, word, phrase and sentence we refer the reader to L. Bloomfield's paper "*A set of Postulates for the Science of Language.*"³⁰

(vi) Analogy is a levelling factor in human speech.

²⁶ *Revista lusitana*, Vol. 6, p. 67; Vol. 9, p. 150 quoted by E. H. TUTTLE, in *AJP* Vol. 40, 1919, p. 78.

²⁷ FIRTH, Appendix to ARDEN'S *Tamil Grammar*, 1934, p. XVII.

²⁸ T. N. SREEKANTAIYA, *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies*, No. I., Mysore, October, 1940, p. 16 and footnote.

²⁹ *Op., cit.*, p. 14.

³⁰ *Language* Vol. II, 1926, p. 153 and fn. 3; pp. 155-56; and p. 158. Vide also L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, VII, 1931, p. 208. A "morpheme" is a molecule-analogue according to BLOOMFIELD'S definition (*Language* Vol. II, p. 155). There are different definitions of morpheme. Thus ANDRADE (*Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Vol. III, edited by F. BOAS, p. 178, fn. 1) calls a special class of morphemes in Quileute "free morphemes," for they free in most of the cases in which they occur. Vide also O. J. SPERSEN, *Analytic Syntax*, pp. 106-107, however (*ibid.*, p. 107), prefers BRUGMANN'S term *formans* (I.E. 14.1; *Kurze vgl. Gram.*, p. 185) to morpheme. For further definitions of linguistic terminologies see J. MAROUZEAU'S *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, Paris, 1933 and also ALFRED SCHMITT'S *Probe eines Wörterbuchs der sprachwissenschaftlichen Terminologie* (Cf. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 51, 1933, pp. 1-18).

II. *Assumptions* :

A minimum number of assumptions are taken over from other sciences.³¹ For instance, the assumption that the pitch accent came to replace the original stress accent on the same syllable in the PIE is based on a physiological fact.³²

(i) A non-functional variation in one language may be functional distinction in another³³.

In Vedic Sanskrit, we have *āṅgūṣam* side by side with *āṅghūṣam* (both meaning the same). Similarly we have *gōṣadasi* side by side with *ghōṣadasi* (used in the same sense). Perhaps in a Vedic dialect, *g* and *gh* were phonemic variants as evident from these examples³⁴. But in Sanskrit *saṅga* and *saṅgha*, *ḡ* and *gh* were distinct phonemes. Witness again Tamil *maram* () “valour,” etc :³⁵ and Tamil *maram* () “tree” (Tel. *mrānu*, Kan. Tulu *marā*, Mal. *maram*).³⁶ Tamil *maṇam* () “union” (as of lovers); marriage (Tel. *manuvu*, Mal. *maṇam*).³⁷ Tamil *manam* () “mind,” “will,”³⁸

³¹ L. BLOOMFIELD *Language*, Vol. VIII, p. 221, and *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 48.

³² E. H. STURTEVANT, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 42, 1911, p. 50.

Vide also C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 185, fn. 1.

³³ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, p. 101. See also R. G. KENT *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 41-42.

³⁴ C. R. SANKARAN, “Accentual variation in relation to Semantic Variation,” *JORM*, Vol. X, 1936, p. 315-16. Perhaps in an earlier phase of the PIE. *k* and *g* were also merely phonemic variants (and not two different phonemes). Hence (**mig-skō*) **mik-skō* > Latin *misceo*, Greek *misgō* (H. HIRT, *Idg. Gram.* Teil IV, 1928, pp. 232 and 336). Cf. also the view that *misgō* < *mik-skō*, -*g*-for-*k* is taken to be after the analogy of *miḡtūmi*, *emngēn* (see WRIGHT *Comp. Gr. of Gjr.*, Section 458, p. 281. See also my paper *NIA*, 1939 p. 635).

³⁵ *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. V, Pt. 4, p. 3118.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol V, Pt. 4, p. 3086.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, p. 3037.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. V., Pt. 4, p. 3134.

The simple *r* and alveolar *r* are distinct phonemes in Tamil. Likewise there is opposition between the retroflex flaggednasal *ɳ* and the alveolar *n*,³⁹ as shown by the above instances.

For a complete list of assumptions in modern linguistics we would again refer the reader to L. Bloomfield's paper "*A Set of Postulates, etc.*"⁴⁰

III. Fundamental Phonetic Laws in Indo-European Linguistics--Theorems.

(i) Law of Palatalization :

This is a well-known law in Indo-European Linguistics. It sums up the correspondence between the guttural phoneme found in words like Latin *que* and the palatal phoneme found in words like Sanskrit *ca* by stating that the PIE. **que* > Skt. *ca* under specific conditions (*i.e.* when the original labio-velar phoneme is followed by a palatal sonant phoneme).

(ii) Grimm's Law of Germanic soundshift :

This law establishes correlation between certain postulated consonant stop phonemes in Indo-European and their correspondences in Germanic dialects. There is one to one correspondence between these two sets. The original media are changed into tenuis in OHG.

The original tenuis are changed into aspirates (spirants) in OHG.

The original 'aspirates' are changed into media in OHG.⁴¹

(iii) Verner's Law :

This famous law was formulated by Verner in 1877.⁴²

³⁹ See FIRTH's Appendix to ARDEN's *Tamil Grammar*, pp. XII-XIII.

⁴⁰ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. II, pp. 153 ff.

⁴¹ HERMANN COLLITZ, "A Century of Grimm's Law," *Language*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 175-176.

⁴² KARL VERNER, *Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung*, "Kuhn's Zeitschrift", Band 23, pp. 97-130.

It relates to the correlation between PIE. accent and the voicing of the intervocalic spirant.

(iv) Grassman's Law of Deaspiration in Sanskrit and Greek :

Grassmann showed the necessity of assuming in a number of PIE. roots both an initial and final aspirate of which the former loses its aspiration in Sanskrit and Greek.⁴³

For Example, PIE.* *bleudh* > *bōdh*—(Skt.)

Grassmann's law removes an apparent irregularity in the shifting of the Indo-European media (Grimm's law).⁴⁴

There are likewise various other *Sound-laws* (our *theorems*) summing up correspondences between different phonemes of various individual IE. languages and they are generally known by the names of those scholars who first formulated them. Some of these are :

1. Brugmann's law which assumes the existence of a special vowel phoneme in PIE. (symbolized by *u* in order to explain the correspondence of Skt. *a* in open syllables with *o* in other languages.⁴⁵ But C. D. Buck⁴⁶ explains the length of the vowels of Sanskrit as a product of analogy and analogical extension.⁴⁷

2. SIEVER's law in Vedic and Indo-European : SIEVER formulated this law in 1878 in the 5th Volume of

⁴³ GRASSMANN, "Ueber die Aspiraten und ihr gleichzeitiges Vorhandensein im An und Auslaut der Wurzeln," *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Band, 12, pp. 81-138. For implications of Grassmann's law in Dynamic Philology, see G. K. ZIPF, *The psycho-biology of Language*, pp. 81 ff.

⁴⁴ H. COLLITZ, *Language*, Vol. II, pp. 177. Cf. also R. G. KENT, "The sounds of Latin," *Language Monographs*, No. 12, p. 79 (the Linguistics Society of America, 1932).

⁴⁵ Vide BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* I², pp. 153-6.

⁴⁶ AJP. 17. pp. 445-72.

⁴⁷ Cf. also H. HIRT, *IG.*, 2. 19; E. H. STURTEVANT, *language*, Vol. VII, pp. 115-124. R. G. KENT, *The Sounds of Latin*, p. 25, fn. 8. See also C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D.C.R.I.* Vol. II, 1940, p. 186, fn. 4.

Paul and Braune's Beitrage⁴⁸ as follows: "unbetontes (nicht svaritiertes) *i* oder *u* vor einem vocal ist Konsonant nach kurzer, Vokal nach langer Silbe ohne Rücksicht auf die sonstige Akzentlage des Wortes."⁴⁹

3. HOLTZMAN's law that IE **ij>* (in certain Germanic languages) *ddj*, *gzj* (Examples: Gothic *tuaddjē* old Norse *tuëggia*; Skt. *dvāyōs*) and IE **uw>* (in certain Germanic languages) *ggw* (Examples: IE **drewā* Gothic *triggwa* "alliance"; Old Norse *tryggvar* (pl.) 'trust.'⁵⁰ OHG *triuwa*, *trenwa* 'faith.'⁵⁰

4. BARTHOLOMAE's law⁵¹: Voiced explosive aspirate plus voiceless consonant becomes voiced explosive plus voiced aspirate in Indo-Iranian.

IV. Postulates :

(i) The Invariability of Phonetic Law :

This assumption is implicit in *Verner's* formulation of his famous law⁵². There has been a good deal of controversy over this postulate.⁵³ It is now replaced by the postulate "phonemes change", (*i. e.* sound-changes occur in disregard to meaning)⁵⁴. L. Bloomfield seems to think that "any

⁴⁸ pp. 129 ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. E. EDGERTON, *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 235-265. Cf. also C. R. SANKARAN, "Theories about Ablaut," JORM; XII, 1938, p. 281. fn. 6.

⁵⁰ Cf. E. PROKOSCH, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, pp. 92-93; C. R. SANKARAN in the old, 1939. Vol. III. p. 87.

⁵¹ Cf. A. MEILLET, *Les Dialectes Indo-Européens*, p. 25; A. L. KROEBER and CHRETIEN, *Language*, 13, 1937, p. 89, JULES BLOCH, *BSL*; XXVI, p. 6; C. R. SANKARAN **gm-skō* or **gm-skebō* (to be published shortly in *Indian Linguistics*).

⁵² L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, 1932, p. 225.

⁵³ LESKIEN, *Declination in Slavischlitanischen und Germanischen*, 1876, Einleitung, XXVII; WECHSLER, *Gibt es Lautgesetz?* WHEELER, TAPA, 32, 6; E. HERMANN, *Lautgesetz und Analogie*, Berlin, 1931; O. JESPERSEN, *Phonetische Grundfragen*, 1904, pp. 142-182. For the earlier bibliography on phonetic laws. See Von GINNEKEN, *Principles de linguistique psychologique*, p. 462. 1907. See also J. VENDRYES, *Languages* (translated into English by Paul RADIN), p. 42; W. L. GRAFF, *Language and Languages*, pp. 240.

⁵⁴ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, P. 227.

speech form of the language is completely and rigidly definable as a linear or a quasi-linear sequence of phonemes". However, the various postulated sequential changes of the sound complex in-sk \bar{h} (eg. in **gm-sk \bar{h} o*) as *sk \bar{h}* > *sk'e'x'* > *st's*⁵⁵ where we have both assimilation and dissimilation⁵⁶ the combination of phonemes seems to be neither linear nor quasi-linear and we are led to think that it is of a definite composite character. Thus we have if φ represents the function of the phoneme, $\varphi(f)$ may have different speech-forms and meanings which are determined by coordinates in time and space i.e. $\varphi = \varphi(f, t, s)$ and $\frac{\partial \psi}{\partial s} \neq 0$, $\frac{\partial \psi}{\partial f} \neq 0$, also $\frac{\partial \psi}{\partial t} \neq 0$. If Grassmann's law were interpreted that in the so-called linear sequence of phonemes (in the same root in the PIE where X_2 and Y_2 are successive aspirates occurring in successive syllables) Y_2 is responsible for changing \bar{X}_2 into X_1 ⁵⁷ (non-aspirate) confirms our theory. Further support is lent to our theory by the fact that PIE *i* and *u* are derived from **eyd*, *ewd*, and similarly *r*, etc. are derived from *end*, *erd*. It is again a confirmation to our theory that some scholars realise the possibility of the distinction of palatal stops from velar stops in the earlier phase of the proto IE developing by the influence of the following vowels and semi-vowels. For instance palatal

Palatal $k > k + e, i \text{ or } y$

Velar $q > k + a, o, u \text{ or } w$.

• Labiovelar $qw > ku + a \text{ vowel}$ ⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ C. R. SANKARAN, *NIA*, Vol. I, No. 10, 1939, p. 633.

⁵⁶ For a full discussion on assimilation and dissimilation see R. G. KENT, *Language*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 245-58.

⁵⁷ I am indebted to my friend Mr. P. JAGANNATHAN for making the mathematical aspect of the question clear to me.

⁵⁸ Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language* 6, pp. 213-228.
also R. G. KENT, "the Sounds of Latin," *Language Monograph* No. XII, 1942, Page 25.

One wonders whether even Patañjali made an implicit acceptance of this postulate as he begins his great *Mahābhāṣya* with the significant statement :—*attha gaubhityatra kaḥ śabdah*. He ends this discussion also significantly with the words :—*sa Śabdah*⁵⁹. It is remarkable that he uses the word *śabdah* and not *arthaḥ* here, which strongly leads us to suspect whether he too, like Karl Verner, *implicitly*, accepted the postulate “Phonemes Change”⁶⁰.

(ii) Analogy works in direct opposition to phonetic law. This postulate lies at the basis of our positing a sufficiently long but not a very long interval between the stress-dominating and the pitch-dominating phases in the PIE⁶¹.

(iii) Borrowing : A language or a group or a family of languages borrows from another language or a group or a family of languages when the speakers of the different speech-communities come together⁶².

(iv) Primeval Relationship : Some distinct families of human languages are supposed by certain scholars to have been originally related, e.g. Finno-Ugrian, Munda and Dravidian⁶³. However the view of the neo-grammarians that ‘borrowing’ and ‘primeval relationship’ are entirely two different concepts is being slowly abandoned by some

⁵⁹Kielhorn's ed. of the *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. 1, 1892, p. 2, lines 6-11.

⁶⁰L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, p. 226. Cf. S. KROESCH, *Language*, Vol. VI, 1926, pp. 35-45. Vide also E. A. ESPER, “A Technique for the experimental investigation of associative interference in artificial linguistic material,” *Language Monographs* (published by the Linguistic Society of America), No. 1, November 1925.

⁶¹Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *JORM*, Vol. VIII, 1934, p. 147 and also *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, p. 199.

⁶²L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol. VIII, 1932, p. 226.

⁶³W. VON HEVESY, *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien*, Vienna, 1932; *Neue finisch-Ugrisch sprachen* (Die Mundasprachen Indiens) 1935, *Atti del congresso di Linguistics Tenuto in Roma*. Fr. OTTO SCHRADER, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. 3, pp. 107-109, 1925, *BSOS*, Vol. 8, 1930, p. 751 ff.

modern linguisticians⁶⁴. This new idea is very complicated as it involves a deep insight in the modern developments of several branches of science like sociology, ethnology, psychology and anthropology⁶⁵.

V. *Hypotheses* :

(i) The natural hypothesis about the development of human language: According to this hypothesis, the PIE tongue was of a simple isolating structure, only structure, only superficially resembling the modern analytic type, the one reflecting fragmentary thinking and the other the developed analytic thinking⁶⁶.

(ii) Reduction of complex to simple in the development of human speech: Some believe that there has been a continuous movement from complex to simple structure and that man's earliest speech was of a complex structure. This is in direct opposition to the natural hypothesis⁶⁷.

VI. *Axioms and Concepts in Modern Linguistics*—

The discovery of Hittite and Tocharian in recent times, while invalidating many old hypotheses like the *Satem-Centum*⁶⁸ has reacted very strongly upon the methods of modern linguistics.

⁶⁴ C. C. UHLENBECK, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, 1937, p. 390.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 391 ff. Vide C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, "Some ethnopsychological features in Dravidian," *Bull. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 208.

⁶⁶ Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *The Journal of the Madras University*, 1936, Vol. VIII, pp. 68-78; also Vol. XI, p. 200; also C. R. SANKARAN, *NIA*, Vol. I, p. 744; and C. D. BUCK, *Comp. Gramm. of Greek and Latin*, p. 65.

⁶⁷ FRANZ BOAS, *The mind of Primitive Man*, 1938, p. 172 and his *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, *Bull.* 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1911.

⁶⁸ Vide C. R. SANKARAN, *NIA*, Vol. 3, 1940, pp. 40-46.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, when linguistic science first had its origin in Europe, scholars contended themselves in instituting comparisons merely with the vocabularies of one language with those of another (belonging of course to the same group or family) irrespective of the time-factor. In other words, a speech-form which might have been used by speakers belonging to a particular community in remote historic past as evidenced from the oldest literary records like the Veda, could be easily compared without any compunction on the part of these scholars, with a very late speech-form in history (separated no doubt by several centuries) met with in another cognate language like Lithuanian. It was this method which led mainly to hypothesis like the *Satem-Centum*. A revision of this method necessitated by the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, has led in modern times to the formulation of two fundamental axioms in linguistics⁶⁹.

They are the following :—

(i) Linguistic facts of a particular language or a group or a family of languages must first be studied on a strictly *diachronic* scale.

(ii) Then only linguistic facts of a particular language or a group or family of languages could and should be compared with similar facts of another cognate language or a group or family of languages *belonging to the same period* (whether historic or prehistoric). This is the concept of *synchronic linguistics* in modern times.

Taking Tamil and Kannada, two important Dravidian languages, we can illustrate the method schematically as seen below :

⁶⁹ Vide S. M. KATRE, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, 1940, p. 277.

TAMIL	KANNADA	
1. Reconstructed Tamil of 4th B.C.	..	Reconstructed Kannada of the 4th Cent. B.C.
2. Tolkāpiyam 3rd B.C.	..	Kannada of 3rd B.C.
3. <i>Saṅgam</i> Literature : 1st A.D.	..	Kannada of 1st A.D.
4. Tiruvacagum Tevaram Prabandhan	} 10th A.D. roughly	Inscriptions from 5th to 8th Centuries Kavirāumarga Pampa Bhārata Gaḍāyuddha Inscription
5. Kamparāmāyana : 12th A.D.	..	Pamparāmāyana Sadbamanidarpana Inscriptions
6. Minor poets: 16th Cent. A.D.	..	Mahābhārata of Vyasa Channabasavapurana Inscriptions
7. Modern Tamil : 20th century A.D.	..	Modern Kannada : 20th Century A.D.

Synchronic (Simultaneity in time) and diachronic scale (sequence in time) between Tamil and Kannada

Now linguistics tends towards what is described by one scholar as the phenomenological⁷⁹ (in a special sense!) attitude. It lays emphasis upon the concept of the primacy of meaning which is more than a psychological notion⁸⁰. This *Gestalten* view seems to have been adopted by many modern students of linguistics⁸¹. Instead of starting from phonemes first, the modern student seems to start with the whole discourse and comes back to the phoneme last via sentences, words, phrases and morphemes. But when we take the notion of meaning into consideration, there are very serious difficulties. For one thing meaning cannot be reduced

⁷⁹ Vide W. M. URBAN, *Language and Reality*, pp. 134-35 and 282. The word "phenomenology" is wrongly used in several senses. But here it is used more or less in the same sense in which it is used by K. KOFFKA (*Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, 1935, p. 73) but more precisely in the sense in which it is used by W. M. URBAN (*loc. cit.*). According to K. KOFFKA, phenomenology means that kind of observation which inevitably leads to as thorough a description as possible of theories and indicates definite features which a true theory must possess (witness for instance my postulation of two stages of *Karmadbārāya* compound formation in the PIE in my paper published in the *Madras Univ. Journal*, Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 85-86).

⁸⁰ WUNDT, *Volkerpsychologie* especially Vol. I *Die Sprache*; PILLSBURY, *The Psychology of Language* pp. 7, 14; LEVY-BRUHL, *Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*; ("How Natives Think" translated into English by LILIANA CLARE), W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.* p. 61. It is interesting to note here that W. L. GRAFF points out that both the phonetic and semantic aspects ought to be taken into consideration when we define word and sentence. (W. L. GRAFF, *Language*, Vol. V, 1929, pp. 163-88). The psychological stage in linguistics is illustrated in SAPIR'S contention that even phonetic laws are not mechanical but they are psychological. Cf. also KANRAD HENTRICH, "Zum Vernerschen Gesetz". *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Vol. XLV, 1921, pp. 300 ff; GINLIO-PANCONCEL LI-CALZIA, *Die experimentelle Phonetik*, pp. 44-45. W. L. GRAFF, *Language*, pp. 182-183; S. SAPIR, *Language* Vol. I, pp. 37-51; See also my paper *IE *gm-skō* or **gm-sko*?

It is useful to remember that H. D. OAKELEY contends (*Mind*, Vol. XLIX, No. 196, October, 1940, pp. 427-444, see especially p. 433) that the laws of syntax can never be abstracted from the meaning and that logic cannot be identified with the syntax of language without reference to the meaning just as prof. CARNAP maintains.

⁸¹ Gunther IPSEN, *Sprachphilosophie der Gegenwart*, 1930; W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

to strictly quantitative analysis⁸². We have suggested elsewhere⁸³ that the various physical and physiological implications of Paget's Gesture theory of the origin of the human speech, when worked out in great detail, might help us to get over this end and other difficulties. Here it may be remarked that L. Bloomfield clearly points out that the correlation between the stimulus acting on a speaker (i.e. the meaning) and the speech-form which he utters is not easy to demonstrate. We use the word "apple" for instance, even when, there is no apple in sight. This is the power of displaced speech. Hence the correlation between the meaning and speech-form is merely an assumption incapable of direct proof. The latter may be supplied when physiology has reached a state of perfection which is at present inconceivable⁸⁴. In the present state of our knowledge it is best that we do not resort to mentalistic terms in this matter⁸⁵.

⁸² G. K. ZIPF, *The Psycho-Biology of Language*, p. 157.

⁸³ C. R. SANKARAN, "Paget's gesture theory of the origin of Human Speech" (to be published in *the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*).

⁸⁴ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, Vol X, pp. 35-36, and "Language or Ideas?" *Language*, Vol. XII, 1936 p. 95.

⁸⁵ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, p. 12-13.

THE CRESCENT AS AN EMBLEM OF ISLAM

By M. NAIMUR-REHMAN

The crescent and the star—and particularly the former—have now been universally recognised as emblematic of Islam. Relentlessly used in the fields of literature, history and politics the twain seem to have come to stay as concomitants of Islam and all that it may connote. Little did the Turks know, quite five centuries ago now, that their brilliant victory over Byzantium and their innocent glorying in adopting her crescent as an emblem of their sovereignty would result in stamping Islam with that ultra-heathen mark for an indefinitely long time to come. And five centuries make a period long enough to arm a fond writer on superstition with courage enough to enable him to say that the crescent is “The Sacred sign of Mohammed today”¹, and to believe that like the Christian Cross and the Jewish Star the Crescent also is an emblem of the Muslims “indicating the highest ideal of the faith,”² and that a “pious Mohammedan regards the Crescent as the passport to the realms of bliss,.....”³ Other unfortunate facts like this have similarly emboldened some “doctors” to speak of a *Muhammedan mythology*⁴ and to mention the number 7 as “highly revered in Muhammedan

* Read at the Twelfth Oriental Conference held at Benares, 1943.

¹ P. F. Waterman, *The Story of Superstition* (Grosset and Dunlap, London, 1929), p. 142.

² Ibid., p. 157.

³ Ibid. Luckily, though, he goes on to say : “without a thought that the symbol was in use long before the Prophet of Allah was born, and amongst those nations which it was the Prophet’s mission to convert or destroy.”

⁴ So Dr. Bains Prashad in his translation of the *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* (Calcutta, 1940), p. 48, note 4.

theology.”⁵ While no one gifted with reason and knowledge will be prepared to believe that the Crescent has anything to do with the idea of Islam or the creed of the Muslims, such remarks and observations as above, made by responsible writers and scholars, may cause, and have caused, untold mischief by way of further spreading the erstwhile prevalent—and most of them patently wilful—misrepresentations about Islam and its tenets.

It is, therefore, proposed to study in these pages the truth about the relation of the Crescent (and the star) to Islam. Let us follow the career of these deities through the ages, before Islam finally shut them up into the heathen pantheon.

1. In Egypt the God Amen-Ra, considered to be the general source of life, and identified with the Creator of the universe, was also the moon-god in his form of Khensu⁶. The star Sept marked the spring and the approach of the inundation of the Nile. She was the deity of the cultivated lands and fields and of flood⁷. Isis, depicted as a woman wearing a crown surmounted by a pair of horns, was the virgin moon. Interestingly enough, this is also the head-dress of Maia, the mother of the Indian Buddha, and forms the halo of Ishtar, Hathor, Artemis and Diana⁸. Waterman regards even the sign of the Omega as the same “Crescent, the Virgin moon of Isis, the mysterious sign of the horse-shoe⁹.” Once every year the swine was sacrificed to

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49, note 6. It is significant that his referee (Huges *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 558, 569, 570) makes no mention of this “high reverence” of the Muslims for 7.

⁶ L. Spence, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt* (Harrap, London, 1925), p. 141.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁸ P. F. Waterman, *The Story of Superstition*, p. 142.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Osiris and the Moon, which was also the father of Isis.¹⁰ We shall hear more of Isis in the following pages.

2. In Babylonia and Assyria, the lunar worship was older than solar worship, and was widely prevalent. The moon was regarded as the father not only of the sun but of the stars also. It was the "great steer with mighty horns and perfect limbs."¹¹ Moisture being regarded as the principle of life, moon and water-worship were closely connected. The blood of animals and the sap of plants were vitalized by the water of life and were under control of the moon.¹² The chief city of the lunar deity (Nannar or Sin) was the ancient city of Ur, whence Abraham migrated to Haran, where Baal (the Lord) was also a moon-god. The moon-god of Sumeria was regarded as "the friend of man" in Arabia, Egypt and throughout ancient Europe. He gave fertility to the soil, increased flocks and herds, and gave offsprings to human beings. At Ur he was the "Lord and prince of the gods, supreme in heaven and the father of all," and was also called Anu, who was the sky-god with a lunar character.¹³ The moon-god Sin was the patron-god of Ur, and it was to him that the Assyrian kings traced the formation of their kingdom.¹⁴ Like the lunar Orisis in Egypt he was an instructor of mankind, and lent its name to the mountains of Sinai. The moon measured time and controlled the seasons and the crops. Its spirit inhabited the moon-stone. Thus the luminary was connected with the earth-worship, stone-worship and water-worship. The consort of Nannar (moon) was Nin-Uruwa (the lady of Ur.). The twin children of the moon were Mashu and Mashtu, a brother

¹⁰ D. A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria* (Gresham, London) p. 100.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 289-90.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

¹⁴ A. H. Sayce, *Assyria*, p. 77.

and sister, like the lunar girl and boy of the Teutonic mythology immortalised in the English nursery rhymes as Jack and Jill¹⁵. Like the Egyptian Isis and Osiris, Nannar was also bisexual, and was sometimes addressed as father and mother in one¹⁶. Though the lord of the pantheon was a solar deity, yet in astronomical science the independent rank of the moon was preserved, and she occupied the first position in the list of the planets¹⁷.

Babylonia was doubtlessly the birthplace of astrology and the cradle of astronomy. The Babylonians regarded the stars as pictorial designs on the heavens and described them as "writings of heaven," a conception, which Jastrow believes was, borrowed from the pictorial writing of the cuneiform script¹⁸. The Lord Merodach set all the great gods in their stations, who in their turn created their images, the stars of the Zodiac¹⁹. Likewise, the religious beliefs of the Sumarians had stellar associations from the earliest known times. The great and abiding influence the stars were supposed to have on human lives and affairs exalted the stars in their esteem as so many deities, who were members of an organised pantheon. They were as much manifestations of a Power as "the world soul" of the Brahmans of the post-Vedic age of India²⁰. Among the stars the chief Babylonian goddess was Ishtar, *the Star*, the "world-mother," daughter of the Moon-god²¹. She presided over love and war, and was invoked as "the queen of heaven," the "queen of all the gods." She was Ashtoreth of the Canaanites,

¹⁵ Mackenzie, p. 53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2, 297-8.

¹⁷ M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 461.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

¹⁹ Mackenzie, p. 147.

²⁰ It is highly probable that the word *star* owes its derivation to this very deity's name.

²¹ A. H. Sayce, *Assyria*, p. 78.

Astarte of the Greeks, and Artemis of the Ephesians²². When the Moon came to be considered as a female deity, Ishtar became also the goddess of the moon. Hence it was that Astrate had "Crescent horns"²³. While in Assyria and Babylonia the mass of the people worshipped the stars as a whole, the worship of the moon was very extensive in the East. The Israelites were warned by their scripture not to pay worship to the heavenly bodies²⁴. The Moon was Coelestis in Syria, al-Lat in Arabia, and Diana, Minerva, Bellona among the Greeks²⁵. The Persian poetry and literature style the Patriarch Joseph as "the moon of Canaan."

Farbridge has mentioned some interesting instances of symbolical representations that call for notice here. On a seal now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Shamash (the Sun) is represented by a horn-capped deity. There is a star in front of him, and a crescent behind him. Two boundary stones of the Babylonian times (B. C. 1320 to 1170 found at Susa and now in the Louvre, contain on one side a crescent moon symbolising Sin, a solar disc for Shamash, and an eight-pointed star for Ishtar. The moon's crescent also suggested the sight of a sailing barque, and the moongod is, therefore, described in various Sumerian hymns as sailing along the heavens in a ship. Sin's representation with a *horn* also suggested the appearance of a heifer, so that this deity is often described as a powerful bull; and in one of the hymns addressed to her she is described as a "strong bull, great of horns, perfect in form"²⁶ . . . "

²² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²³ *Ibid* p. 79.

²⁴ *Deutonomy*, IV, 9; XVII, 3.

²⁵ A. S. Rappoport, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (Gresham, London, 1928), I, 16.

²⁶ *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* (Trubner, London, 1923), pp. 159, 162, 192, 193.

3. In India—we are so well aware that Lord Shiva, the creator, preserver and destroyer of three worlds, wears a crescent-moon on his forehead. It has been celebrated by the poets in their poetry. Kālidāsa calls him “crescent-crowned,” and mentions his crescent-diadem and moon at four places in his immortal *Megha-dūta*²⁷. In the early Brahmanic and Buddhistic writings he is known as “the bearer of the moon²⁸.” Indra and Agni are identified with the phases of the moon, the former being the new and the latter the full moon. Similarly, Mitra is the waning, and Varuna the waxing moon²⁹. In ancient India the sun was regarded as the light of the gods, the moon of the fathers³⁰. The *Dabistān* mentions moon-worshippers and star-worshippers as actual sects of the Hindus in the 17th century. With the Hindus the moon is a male deity. He had fifty wives, all daughters of Dakṣa, who cursed him with consumption at the appeal of his forty-nine daughters, who complained of his special favours to their fiftieth sister³¹. The sun, the moon and the stars are worshipped by the Dravidians, while the Koles worship the moon as the wife of the sun, and the stars as her children³². The devout Hindus still regard the sphere of the moon as the abode of the spirits of ancestors³³ (*pitr̥s*). The seven stars of the great Bear consist of the ghosts of the “seven ṛṣis,” or semi-divine patriarchs, while the wives of these ṛṣhis constitute the Pleiades, who, among the sister Aryans of Greece, were

²⁷ *Megha-dūta*, stanzas 43, 44, 50, 55 (in the version and trans. of G. H. Rooke, Oxford Un. Press, 1935). Bāṇa Bhatta mentions (in the *Kādambarī*) the locks of Umā decked with Śiva's moon.

²⁸ E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (Ginn, London), p. 470.

²⁹, ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³¹ C. M. Ridding, trans. of *Kādambarī*, p. 141.

³² Hopkins, pp. 526, 533.

³³ M. M. Williams, *Brāhminism and Hinduism* (Murray, London, 1887), p. 343.

the ghosts of the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione³⁴. In the Purāṇas the planets are all represented as deities borne in cars. Rāhu has a spite against the Sun and the Moon, and therefore causes their eclipses by swallowing them. The whole lot of planets are a formidable group of deities to a Hindu, and must, therefore be propitiated by all possible means, for they rule not only the birth hour but also the whole life-time of a human being. Tārā (= a star), the wife of Bṛhaspatī (also Thursday), was carried away by the Moon, who had fallen in love with her. So also was Arundhati, the Morning Star, the wife of the sage Vaśishṭha.

4. In Greece and Rome—Diana, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona, and twin sister of Apollo (the sun-god) was a goddess of the moon and of chase. She is identical with Luna, Cynthia, Phoebe, Selene and Artemis, all of whom are represented with crescents on their foreheads†. In art she is represented as a beautiful maid clad in a hunting dress, armed with a bow, a quiver full of arrows at her side, and a crescent on her head³⁵. She drives in her moon-car across the heavens. Pleiades were seven of her nymphs, who were pursued and changed into stars by Orion, who in his turn was also loved by Diana and was accidentally slain by her³⁶. Rhea³⁷ is also shown with a crescent and a star³⁸.

5. In the Norse and Greenland myths—like the Indian—the moon is masculine as against the sun which is feminine. The Norse Mani, the moon-god, was an exact counterpart

³⁴ Mackenzie, pp. 295-6.

† A. S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, p. 119.

³⁵ H. A. Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome* (Harrap, London, 1927), p. 73.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

³⁷ Rhea was the daughter of Coelus and Terra, and had married Saturn, by whom she had Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, Neptune, etc.,

³⁸ Murray, *Mythology*, p. 35.

of Phoebe, Diana or Cynthia³⁹. In Greenland the moon was a father and a hater of women, while the sun was a mother and a hater of men⁴⁰.

6. In China—the moon is a special object of worship in autumn. At the harvest moon, the full moon of the eighth month, the Chinese bow before the moon, and every family burns incense as an offering⁴¹. The spirit of the sun is called the *sun-king*, and that of the Moon the *moon-queen*. The stars have a great influence on sublunary events, especially the life and death of the human beings. The moon is symbolised by a hare on its hind legs, or by a three-legged toad⁴². The star deities are adored by the parents on behalf of their children. They control courtship and marriage, bring prosperity or adversity in business, send pestilence and war, regulate rainfall and drought, and command angels, in fact everything, during the period of their rule⁴³. Like the Indian rulers who descended from the sun and the moon, successive dynasties in China had sovereigns ruled by the sun and the moon in succession.

7. In Japan—Tsuki-Yumi is the moon-god. His consort Amaterasu, the sun-god, found her to be a wicked deity and severed his relations with her. The two were thus separated by a day and night, and dwell apart from each other⁴⁴.

8. In Central America—the moon was the mythic mother of the Inca dynasty. Temples were dedicated to the planets, particularly the Moon and the Venus. In the temple of the Moon the mythic mother depicted the features

³⁹ Guerber, *Myths of the Norseman* (Harrap, London, 1925), p. 345.

⁴⁰ Waterman, *Superstition*, pp. 217-18.

⁴¹ E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, p. 176.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 176. In Sanskrit too the Moon is called *Shashi* which means a hare.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴⁴ F. H. Davis, *Myths and Legends of Japan* (Harrap, London, 1920), p. 23.

of the moon-goddess⁴⁵. The Mexican Oullo Huaca, the first Coya (empress) of the Incas, a child of the Moon, is depicted (like the Indian Śiva) with a bright crescent-moon on her forehead and crescent-and-star ear pendants⁴⁶.

9. From the sixth century onward the sun and the moon form a necessary appendix of the Christian representations of the Crucifixion of Christ. The moon appears as a crescent or a female figure. "In the crucifixion of the Laurentian MS. the moon is a crescent within a round disk, and in Table V of that MS. of a partial and total eclipse of the sun, which seems to represent the Moon as a white disk and face, and also as a black disk marked with the crescent . . . The Mithraic worship prevalent in Rome in the earlier centuries must have included the moon as well as the sun. The great apocalyptic mosaics would allow the presence of the Sun and the Moon in the Lord's hand . . . Count Vivian speaks of the Moon as representing the Church⁴⁷" (in his Bible, dating middle of the ninth century). "One of the latest and most beautiful repetitions and echoes of this idea is the well-known passage in the "Christian Year" beginning with "The moon above, the church below." The presence of the sun and the moon in crucifixion . . . gave occasion in later days to the idea of the moon's representing the synagogue, or the Hebrew church⁴⁸." The stars are regarded as symbolic of Christ's divinity, and one or more of them are often seen on either side of his figure on early glasses, etc. A Christian lamp given by Bellori presents the Good Shepherd with his head encircled by seven stars⁴⁹.

⁴⁵ L. Spence, *Myths of Mexico and Peru* (Harrap, 1920), pp. 261-62.

⁴⁶ M. Schubert, *Minute Myths and Legends* (Grosset and Dunlop), p. 149.

⁴⁷, ⁴⁸ *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (Murray, London, 1908) II, pp. 1316-17.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 1927, referring to the *Antiche Lucerne*, part iii, 29. The author suggests that in the early Christian art the starry field is symbolical of heaven.

At St. Vitallis at Ravenna the Holy Lamb is seen in a field sown with stars, and the Cross is similarly placed in the Chapel of Galla Placidia. In representation of Christ's nativity the star is an unfailing accompaniment, and the child Christ is seen in his swaddling bands as the central figure, the stars appearing above⁵⁰. "It is noteworthy," says Waterman, "that even in the Bible the terms "New moon" and "Sabbath hour" are regularly used together as if they were somehow connected⁵¹."

In fact the crescent and the star have been used as signs and symbols by almost all human races and peoples, and are of an indescribable antiquity. Waterman explains the star-and-crescent symbol as a device showing the union of the sun and the moon, the two being "locked together in loving embrace in order that as a result of their caress nature will be fruitful⁵²". The ancient Egyptian heiroglyphs show so many combinations of the crescent, connected with the persons of their gods and kings. Explaining the sanctity attaching to number 3 the same author says, "It is likely that the mystic 3 is connected with Mother Moon, because she was always supposed to have a most uncanny influence upon the destinies of everything and everybody. To this day there are thousands of superstitious people who feel that their fate is somehow linked up with the full moon, the waxing moon, and the waning moon . . . Among the ancient supernatural groups of *three*, one of the most prominent was that of the moon, the snake and the hare⁵³." Who does not know that throughout the Christain Europe and America a day of the week has been consecrated to the moon, and is named Monday? The six-pointed star is

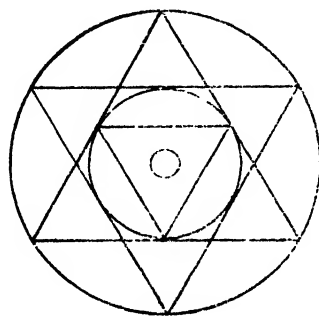
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1380, 1927.

⁵¹ *The Story of Superstition*, p. 214.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

explained by various authorities as being a combination of two triangles placed one above the other, one of them pointing upwards and representing the male element, and the other pointing downwards and representing the female element. The male triangle stands for the god, and the female for the goddess. In India, this star is a symbol of Śiva and Śakti, and is regarded by the Hindus as very auspicious and holy. Sri-Yantra is another sign held sacred by the Hindus, and is very frequently seen painted on their temples and houses, and drawn on the ground in front of their homes. It consists of a six-pointed star placed inside a circle, and inset with another combination of a circle, a triangle and another circle, thus :



The six-pointed star was also one of the emblems revered by the American Indians before the invasion by white men. An exact copy of what is called the "Shield of David" is to be found in the Temple of the Sun at Uxmal in Yucatan⁵⁴.

Before taking leave of the ancient pagan world we will do well to study the tendency of the pre-Islamic Arabs towards religion in general and the heavenly luminaries in particular. Generally speaking the pre-Islamic Arabs' view on life was hedonistic. Remarkable in many ways, they

⁵⁴ Waterman, *Superstition*, p. 161.

have been outstanding and noteworthy in the fact that they had no mythology. They were pluralistic in their conception of godhead. They worshipped one supreme god, Hubal, and several sub-gods, such as Lāt, Manāt and 'Uzzā, and had exalted some of the heroes of old to the position of divinity. Along with these they also had idols of the smaller gods, such as Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Nasr. The Lāt was the moon-god, and was especially worshipped by the Banū Thaqif and had his idol at Tā'if. The Manāt was a favourite of the Aws, the Khazraj and the Ghassāns; and 'Uzzā was worshipped by the Quraysh, the Kināna and some of the Sulaym. The idols of Isāf, and Nā'ilah—who have been described differently as having been brought by 'Amr b. Luḥayy from Syria, and to have originally been two persons (man and woman) of the tribe of Jurhum—were pitched on top of the Mounts Ṣafā and Marwa. There were also some other deities who enjoyed only a local importance and veneration, such as the Sa'd of the Banu Milkān. Even these gods and their idols were not aboriginies in Arabia, and most of them were only borrowed from foreign lands and peoples. The central pantheon of Arabia was at the Ka'ba in Mecca, whither most of the Arabian tribes, particularly of the north, travelled yearly to perform their pilgrimage. Likewise the abstract ideas of Time, Love and Bravery were also apotheosised. Like the moon the stars also attracted their veneration. They did not occupy the exact position of gods or deities, but were believed to have a lasting influence on the birth and death of human beings, and in particular on the rains, a commodity that was naturally so dear to those denizens of the parched deserts and dry, sunburnt hills. We are also told on good authority⁵⁵ that some of the pagan Arabs even believed in a supreme god, even higher than Hubal, and called him

⁵⁵ E. G. Ibn Hisham, *al-Shahristānī*, Ibn-al-Kalbi,

Allāh⁵⁶, as also in the angels and the genii whom they regarded as daughters of that Allāh. Some of them even believed in a life-after-death and an accounting for their deeds on a certain day. Some of them were also inclined to be Jews and Christians, whose colonies were sprinkled up and down Arabia. Professor Davis is very probably correct in regarding it unlikely that "the Arabian Jews adhered to the ordinary Mosaic doctrines as interpreted by the more authoritative rabbis. As for the Christians," he goes on to observe, "they frequently belonged to sects which had delivered themselves over to outlandish mysticism or sheer superstition. Some questioned the deity of Christ; others practically denied his human aspect and considered crucifixion a kind of stage play designed to impose upon the evil-minded Jews⁵⁷." Thus, in short, the religious beliefs of the pagan Arabs suffered from a vagueness and a volatility all their own. It was a set of beliefs characterised at once by a childlike simplicity and a robust and courageous manhood, the like of which is hard to find in any race or clime.

It is abundantly clear by now that the moon and the star were actually revered and worshipped, or at least venerated by all the nations of the world before Islam. Even now in the twentieth century there are countries and nations—both barbarous and civilised—who assign to these luminous creatures the dignity and position of gods and adore them as so many deities. We are now in a position to study

⁵⁶ This, however, is a matter of controversy, and is not recognised by all.

⁵⁷ W. S. Davis, *A Short History of the Near East* (MacMillan N. Y., 1923), p. 105. One is very much tempted to believe it was designed not only for the Jews but for the whole world. What mischief has been wrought by early Christian monks, and how cleverly and wisely they have palmed off historical facts and figures on the world is an exceedingly interesting story indeed. In this connection a study of the highly learned and illuminative work, *The Rise of Christendom* by E. Johnson (Trubner, London, 1890) will more than repay labour.

the attitude of Islam towards the heavenly bodies in general, and the moon and the stars in particular, and then to arrive at a conclusion whether or not the crescent and the star can be said to be emblematic of Islam and the Muslims.

One need hardly mention the well-known formula of belief in Islam, "There is, no god but Allah⁵⁸ and Muhammad is His apostle," which negates in one stroke the fitness of anything, fact or idea to be a god or worthy of any worship. The *Qur'ān* asserts repeatedly and in clear terms that: "Allah is ONE⁵⁹. There is no god but He⁶⁰. To Him belongs all and absolute command⁶¹, and His is whatever is in earth or heaven⁶². All might and glory belongs to Allah⁶³, and all affairs are ultimately referable and return, to Him alone⁶⁴. No other god shall be associated with Him⁶⁵, as there is no proof for such a belief. Allah does not forgive that anything be associated with Him⁶⁶." Such is Allah, *the God par excellence*, whom Islam and the *Qur'ān* present to the world. This, clearly enough, rules out of all consideration any attempt at deifying any object, idea or whim that may occur to man. None but Allah has absolutely any room in human conception and thought.

⁵⁸ Also the *Quran*, 47, 19; 37, 34.

⁵⁹ The *Qurān*: 112, 1. Also 2, 163, 255; 4, 171; 5, 73; 14, 52; 16, 51; 18, 110; 21, 108; 22, 34; 41, 6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, 87; 11, 14; 20, 8, 98; 27, 26; 44, 8; 59, 22, 23; 64, 13; 73, 9. Also 2, 163, 255; 3, 15, 17, 61; 6, 103; 7, 158; 9, 31, 129; 13, 30; 16, 2; 20, 14; 21, 25, 87; 23, 116; 28, 70, 88; 35, 3; 38, 65; 39, 6; 40, 62.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3, 153; 6, 57, 62; 7, 54; 12, 40, 67; 13, 31; 28, 70, 88; 30, 4.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 2, 284; 3, 108, 128; 4, 131, 170; 10, 55, 66; 31, 26; Also 5, 120.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4, 139; 10, 65; 35, 10.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 11, 123; 35, 4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 17, 22, 39; 23, 117; 28, 88; 51, 51.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4, 116.

It is well-known that all races and nations of the old dreaded their gods as spiteful beings, always inimically disposed towards their worshippers, and ever ready to inflict their wrath, and wreak their vengeance, upon their frail devotees. And again, they required gods out of number†, who could perform all possible functions, each one his own in heaven and on earth. This multiplicity naturally led to jealousies, rivalries and feuds among them. Mythology is full of the accounts of the wars of the divinities. They were, therefore, no better than the meanest of the human beings, and had all the faults and weaknesses of their fond worshippers. Naturally enough, they were doubly terrible, as petty minded folks constantly quarrelling among themselves, and as spiteful enemies of their creatures and devotees, whose happiness and prosperity was by no means their concern. They had to be kept at bay, their greed to be satisfied, their wrath averted and prohibited by all sorts of supplications and offerings. Islam ended all these fears in one stroke by presenting to the world the ONE Allah, the creator of every thing⁶⁷. He alone has created the human beings and their pairs⁶⁸, all animals⁶⁹, the earth and the heavens⁷⁰. He has made the day and night⁷¹. He has given everything into the control of man. The ocean⁷², the rivers⁷³, the animals⁷⁴, the sun, and the moon⁷⁵, the day and night⁷⁶, the

† *India* had hundreds of millions of them !

⁶⁷ *The Qur'an* : 24, 61; 39, 62.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 30, 40; 35, 11; 37, 96.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24, 45.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 14, 32; 23, 4; 40, 64; 64, 12; Also 13, 2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 14, 32; 21, 33; 28, 71-73; 40, 61.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 16, 14; 45, 12.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 14, 32.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 22, 36.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 13, 2; 14, 33; 16, 12; 17, 12; 29, 61; 31, 29; 35 13; 39, 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 14, 33; 16, 12.

boats⁷⁷, the mountains⁷⁸, the winds⁷⁹—in fact everything contained within the bounds of the heavens and the earth⁸⁰—are within the control of and subservient to man! And the stars too are controlled by His command⁸¹. Every thing that is in heaven and earth bows before Him and obeys Him⁸². All forces contained in heaven and earth belong to Him, and none but He knows the extent of His mighty hosts.⁸³ It has been announced in unequivocal terms that “Allah alone is your Lord, and the Lord of your ancestors of old⁸⁴. He only has created you, and He only reduces you to death⁸⁵. Why do you call upon such gods as the Ba‘l, and forsake Him who is the best of the creators⁸⁶ and the best of sustainers⁸⁷, and the best keeper and guard⁸⁸? He is not unjust in the least⁸⁹. Therefore, bow not to, and be not afraid of, any one but Him⁹⁰; for He is merciful, and mightily gracious⁹¹. He has the complete mastery and command over everything in the universe⁹². All things that are in the heavens and the earth, and the sun, and the moon and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and animals and men—all obey Him⁹³.”

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 14, 32.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, 79; 38, 18.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 38, 36.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 22, 65; 31, 30; 45, 13.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 16, 12.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 13, 15; 16, 49.

⁸³ *Qur.*, 48, 7; 74, 31.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 37, 126.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 16, 70.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 37, 125.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 5, 114; 22, 58; 23, 72; 34, 39; 62, 11.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12, 64.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 4, 40; 10, 44; etc.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, 150; 3, 174; 5, 3, 40; 9, 13; 33, 37.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 2, 104; 3, 73, 173; 8, 29; 57, 21; 62, 4.

⁹² *Ibid.*, in numerous places.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 22, 18.

It is patent from the above that Islam leaves no room at all for any objective godhead or deity, worth even the least veneration or regard, for there is only ONE Allah, who is the creator, sustainer, controller and destroyer of every thing in the universe, and He alone is the only one whom we should love, revere, adore and fear. Man himself has control over the creation and can press any thing into his service. A Muslim is taught to say in his prayers (five times daily!) "Thee alone we worship, and Thee alone we seek help from⁹⁴." Naturally, therefore, the moon, the crescent and the star, cannot command any veneration, reverence or sanctity with the Muslims. Let us now follow the traces of the mention of the moon, the crescent and the star in the Qur'ān.

Generally speaking we have already seen how these luminaries have been mentioned as being under control of God and man. The moon has been mentioned in as many as twenty three places in the book. The earliest mention⁹⁵ of it points out how Abraham struggled with his own self and would not brook to submit to the traditional idolatrous practice of his family to worship the luminaries. He reasons out for himself the futility of deifying the sun, the moon and the stars, and discards them for gods as against Allāh whom alone he resolves henceforth to adore—thus winning for himself the Qur'ānic title of the "first one to submit to Allāh⁹⁶." We are told that the moon is only a source of light⁹⁷ at night. The sun and the moon—like the day and the night—are only His signs⁹⁸, whereby human beings can take lessons. The sun, the moon and the stars, and all that is in heaven and earth, obey Allah⁹⁹. The luminaries

⁹⁴ *Qur.*, 1, 4.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6, 78.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, 164.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10, 5; 71, 16.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 41, 37; 74, 32; 91, 1.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22, 18.

are under control of Allah and man¹⁰⁰. The sun and the moon follow a definite course of (apparent and real) motion and are bound down to follow it¹⁰¹. "Do not make obeisance to the sun, nor to the moon; and make obeisance to Allah who created them¹⁰²." At two places¹⁰³ the moon is mentioned in connection with the time or period of crisis or political upheaval—usually signified by the Qur'ānic word *qiyāma*^t—which a nation or country has to face. In Sura XII (verse 4) the moon is mentioned as having been seen by Joseph in his dream. True there is a whole *sura* (No. LIV) entitled the Moon, because it opens with a reference to the "splitting of the moon," which, as Hughes rightly remarks, is a matter of controversy¹⁰⁴. He believes it refers to the signs of the resurrection. It would, however, be more reasonable to take it as indicative of the splitting up of the heathen power of Mecca, and, in the subsequent future, of the mighty empire of the Romans. The moon was the sign and motto of the Arabs¹⁰⁵, while the crescent-moon formed an important symbol of the Romans and was depicted on their banners. "When the (Roman) army was on the march, the *signa* were borne in front The pole of the *signum* was a lance pointed at the lower end It had a transverse bar near the top from which the ribands hung down. Below this bar there were several disks varying in number from two to seven. These were usually of silver; below them was

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 7, 54; 41, 33; 13, 2; 17, 12; 29, 61; 31, 29; 35, 13; 39, 5.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 36, 39, 40; 55, 6.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 41, 37.

¹⁰³ In 75, 8 and 9. Hughes (*Dicty. of Islam*, art. Moon, p. 356), who understands this verse as referring to the eclipse of the moon "at the day of judgment," only follows the popular interpretation of the word *qiyāma*^t.

¹⁰⁴ *A Dictionary of Islam*, art. Moon, p. 356.

¹⁰⁵ It is significant that this *sura* was revealed at Mecca, whose special motto the moon was.

the *crescent-moon*, above them either a small shield or a corona aurea, or a symbol of some other kind¹⁰⁶."

The crescent is not mentioned in the Qur'ān in the singular number (*hilāl*), and the plural form (*ahilla*) too is used but once: "They ask you concerning the new moons (crescents). Say they are times appointed for (calculating by) men, and for the pilgrimage¹⁰⁷." Thus the only importance of the crescent for a Muslim is that it marks a time or period, and is used for that purpose alone. It marks for them the commencement of a month, or the approach of a season¹⁰⁸. Traditionists have put on record an incident in the life of the Prophet, known all too well to every Muslim. The death of a son of his happened to coincide with the eclipse of the moon. The people of the town, even some Muslims, attributed the mishap to the moon. But the condolatory expressions of the sympathisers only met with a warning from the Prophet who told all and sundry that the moon was only a creature of Allah and had no such influence on the life or death of a human being as they believed.

Having split up the moon and all its hoary glory, let us now turn to the stars and examine the status assigned to them by the Qur'ān. The book uses two words for the star: *najm*, and its plural *nujūm*; and *kawkab*, and its plural *kawākib*. "By the stars they find the right way¹⁰⁹," for that was how the Arabs found out the direction on their journeys, before their Muslim compatriots invented the compass. *Najm* is the opening word of Sura No. 53; but some thinkers believe that there it is used to indicate the Qur'ānic verses.

¹⁰⁶ *Encycl. Relig. and Eth.* II, 349 a.

¹⁰⁷ *Sura* II, 189.

• ¹⁰⁸ One crescent, e.g., marks the beginning, and the next the close, of the month of fasting (*Ramaḍān*); and another one (of the month of *Dhul-hijja*) indicates the approach within the next fortnight of the three-day season of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

• ¹⁰⁹ *Qur.* 16, 16.

In *Al-Rahmān* (55,7) this word means "a creeper-herb," and is bracketed with the plant (*shajar*) in the same remark. Lastly in *al-Ṭāriq* (86,3) the star is held up as an evidence of the fact that every member of the universe has a definite course of life which is well guarded and regulated. In its plural form (*nujūm*) we come across it for the first time in Sura *An'am* (6,98), where also we meet them as pointers of the direction and no more. In three other places¹¹⁰ after that, the luminaries are said to be in full control of God and man. In the *Ṣaffāt* (No. 37) we are told how very *sick* Abraham felt of his society revering and worshipping the stars and regarding them as controllers of their lives and destinies. In two places¹¹¹, about the last part of the Book, the stars are mentioned in connection with the same times (as mentioned above) of national crisis and revolutions when everything seems to be hugely disturbed and angles of vision suffer an inordinately enormous change. In the *Wāqī'a* (56,76) the word signifies the Qur'ānic verses, which are held up as evidences of the Qur'ān being a noble and serious proclamation. Lastly, we come across a mention of the stars in connection with an instruction to the Prophet : "And in the night give Him glory, and at the *setting* of the stars¹¹²." In the form *Kawkab* (singular) the stars appear for the first time in the story of Abraham's refusal to accept the stars as deities¹¹³, and then in the *sura* entitles *Yūsuf* in the mention (supra) of Joseph's dream¹¹⁴. Lastly the stars are mentioned as a mere simile for a brilliant light.¹¹⁵ In the plural form (*kawākib*) the luminaries appear in only two

¹¹⁰ Suras 7, 54; 16, 12; 22, 18.

¹¹¹ Suras 77, 8; 81, 2. Also in the plural form *Kawākib* in 82, 1.

¹¹² Sura 52, 49.

¹¹³ Sura 6, 77.

¹¹⁴ Sura 12, 4.

¹¹⁵ Sura 24, 35.

places : first, in the *Ṣaffāt*¹¹⁶, where they are presented to our view as only a sort of decoration for the sky overhead ; and then in Sura LXXXII, noted above.

This is how the *Qur'ān* is concerned with the luminaries overhead. None of these have any demand on the consideration of the Muslims. Any belief to the contrary is absolutely wrong and has no sanction whatsoever, and the non-Muslims will be best advised to give up all such notions of ascribing the crescent and the star to the Muslim faith or religion !

The question naturally arises as to who is responsible for this strange ascription of the crescent and star as an emblem or symbol of Islam, so that even a sane writer like Waterman could be led into the palpable absurdity of believing that "The Swastika is to Buddhism what the cross is to Christianity, and *the crescent is to Islam*¹¹⁷." According to the best explanation, *swāstika* is only a sign for well-being, *su* meaning 'well' and *asti* = 'being.' In the *swāstika* "some of the early Christian mystics saw in the two lines at right angles a symbol of Christ as the corner stone¹¹⁸!" This primitive Aryan sign is still so much in vogue in India, and is still considered sacred and highly auspicious. The cross, a sign that means everything to the Christians, was already in use among the pagans of western Asia and Europe many centuries before Christ. But its main idea was taken from the ancient Egyptian sign of *Ankh*, which to the Egyptians "meant" life, living, everlasting life, the life which cannot die," much the same what the Christians have been believing about it ever since the good king Tiberius Caesar—an overlord of Egypt, may it be noted—discovered the idea and symbol for them¹¹⁹. The Egyptian goddess Isis and the god

¹¹⁶ *Sura* 37, 6.

¹¹⁷ *Superstition*, p. 162.

¹¹⁸ E. A. W. Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 331.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 135, 342.

Thoth¹²⁰ were already patronised by the Christian conception as The Mother and the son-god Christ. Thus the *swāstika*, the, *ākh* and the *cross* all roll themselves into one ! Signs, symbols and emblems of life to so many human beings on the earth ! The crescent has none of this sort of a concern with the Muslims and Islam.

Who is responsible for introducing it to the people, who would ultimately lay it down as an *emblem* of Islam and Muslims ? Hughes points out with great propriety indeed that "it must have been adopted by the Muhammadans for the first time upon the overthrow of the Byzantine empire by Muhammad II, and it is now used by the Turks as the insignia of their creed¹²¹." It was "the symbol of sovereignty in the city of Byzantium previous to the Muslim conquest, as may be seen from the medals struck in honour of Augustus, Trajan and others¹²²." We are also told that "the Turkish use of the Crescent after 1463 was the adoption of the ancient symbol of the city of Byzantium . . . It is found on Byzantine coins, and dates from a repulse given to Philip of Macedon about B.C. 340, when a mysterious light, attributed to Hecate warned the city of a night attack¹²³." It is thus only a symbol of the Turkish empire and sovereignty. At this juncture I would commend to the consideration of the readers the learned article of Mr. W. Ridgeway in the Journal¹²⁴ of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The steady advance of the Turkish conquests and occupation over different parts of the continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, and their suzerainty over so many countries in the world naturally gained for them an esteem in the

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 207.

¹²¹ *A Dicty. of Islam*, art. *Crescent*, p. 63.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Vol. II, p. 137.

¹²⁴ Vol. 38, 1908, Art. *The Origin of the Turkish Crescent*, p. 241 et seq.

Muslim world that was hard to be-surpassed by that of any other Muslim state. In India it was particularly helped by the decline of the Mughal empire. And the Muslim world readily adopted the *Turkish* star and crescent as something that would reconcile their mentality, however faintly it may be, with the notion that they yet had something to satisfy their idea of unity. All eyes beheld this as a vestige of the greatness of Islam and its power. And it gave to the Muslim poets a ready simile to speak of the crescent-shaped sword as their "national symbol." It was no more than this, and never deserves to be anything more than this. The Muslims require no material or objective Lord or Master. They have been ordered to "hold fast by Allah; He is your Patron. He is the best and the most excellent Patron and Helper." And Him alone the Muslims worship, and from Him alone they seek help.

AN ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS OF MAITHILI

By SUBHADRA JHA

(Continued from page 58.)

8. *The Personal Terminations*

From an analysis of words like अएलहुँ, I came ; अएलहुँ you (honorific) came ; अएलह, you (non-honorific ordinary) came ; अएलएँ you (non-honorific extreme) came; अएलाह, he (honorific) came; and आएल he (non-honorific) came, we find that the base is आएल in all the forms while they differ in the personal terminations. It is on this account that the agent of the verb is understood from the verb itself and therefore, in conversation, we seldom use pronouns for the nominative of the sentence. It is just like Sanskrit. So when the verb is used with reference to the person of the nominative only the following affixes are used in the different tenses after the different kinds of bases to form the complete verb forms.

First Person and Second Person (Honorific) हुँ

Second Person (Ordinary non-honorific)...ह

Second Person (Extremely non-honorific)...एँ

Third Person (Honorific)...आह after intransitive verbs and a few transitive verbs, such as बाज, to say; पैस, to enter, etc., अन्हि after other transitive verbs.

Third person (non-honorific)—अक used after transitive verbs only except those mentioned under (d).

These personal terminations undergo very slight modifications in different tenses and moods.

Things would have been very simple, if the genius of the language had contended with this only. But the language goes a long step forward. It will become clear from an examination of the following sentences where even with

the nominative of the same person, there is some change in the personal terminations. Thus, with the nominative of the first person and the accusative of the other different persons we get forms like देखलहुँ, I saw you (honorific); देखलिअहु, I saw you (non-honorific ordinary). देखलिअी, I saw you (non-honorific extreme); देखलिऐन्हि, I saw him (honorific); देखलिऐ I saw him (non-honorific). When the nominative is of the second person (non-honorific) and the accusative is of the first person, the form used is the same as used with the nominative of the first person and the accusative of the second person (honorific); and with the accusative of the third person the forms are the same as in case the nominative is of the first person.

When the nominative is of the second person (non-honorific ordinary) and the accusative is of any other person the form like the following shall be used : देखलह, you saw me; देखलहुन्ह, you saw him (honorific); देखलहक, you saw him (non-honorific); similarly, with the nominative of the second person (non-honorific, extreme) and the accusative of the different persons forms like the following are used. देखलऐँ, you saw me; देखलहुन्ह you saw him (honorific); देखलहीक, you saw him. With the nominative of the third person (honorific) and the accusative of any of the different persons the following like forms are used. देखलन्हि, he saw me or you (honorific); देखलयुन्ह, he saw you (non-honorific, ordinary and extreme); देखलयिन्ह, he saw him (honorific) and non-honorific). Similarly, when the nominative is of the third person non-honorific and the accusative is of any of the different persons the forms like the following are used. देखलक, he saw me or you (honorific); देखलकहु, he saw you (non-honorific, ordinary), देखलकौ, he saw you (non-honorific extreme); देखलकैन्हि, he saw him (honorific) and देखलकैक, he saw him (non-honorific).

Here in the above description, the accusative stands for any case closely connected with the verb, besides

the nominative. Therefore, this sort of complication arises not only in connection with transitive verbs but with the intransitive verbs as well. Thus देखलहु(?), not only means 'I saw you, but also may mean I saw something or somebody connected with you.' छिलहु I am somehow connected with you ; छलथुन्ह = he (honorific) was somehow connected with you or with your work ; and so on.

From an analysis of such forms we come to the following generalisation : When the nominative is of one person and there is any person connected with the verb of the sentence, the nominative has its person defined in the verb by the following terminations :

First Person and Second Person (honorific)——इ ;

Second Person (non-honorific, ordinary)——अह ;

Second Person (non-honorific, extreme)——अह, -अही, -अ ;

Third Person (honorific)——थ, थि ;

Third Person (non-honorific)——क with the transitive verbs including those mentioned under (d) above.

The person of the case closely connected with the verb other than the nominative is indicated in the sentence by the following terminations in the verb :

First Person and Second Person (honorific)—no termination.

Second Person (non-honorific, ordinary)—अहु ;

Second Person (non-honorific, extreme)—औ, -औक ;

Third Person (honorific)—उन्ह, -ऐन्ह, -इन्ह ;

Third Person (non-honorific)—ऐ, -इन्ह, -ऐक ;

In a sentence where the persons of the nominative and of any other case connected with the verb has to be expressed, the personal termination for the nominative is placed immediately after the radical or the participle form and then follows the termination for the person of any other case. Thus छलिऐन्हि = छल-इ-ऐन्हि = was—I—to him ; छलिअहु = छल-इ-अहु = was—I—to you ; होएबहुन्ह = होएब-अहु-न्ह = will be-you-to him खलिऐन्हि = खाएल-इ-ऐन्हि = eaten was—(by him, non-honorific)—

(something connected with)—him, कहबहुन्ह = कहब-अहुन्ह = will be said-you-him something will be spoken by you to him; etc.

An apparent exception in case when the nominative is of the Third Person and the Second Person is used in any other connected case. Here it appears that the order of the personal terminations is reversed. Thus, कहलथुन्ह seems to be = कहल-थुन्ह = will say-to you-he. But here the proper analysis will be कहल-अहुन्ह will say—be-you-he. That is say here is a case superimposed use of the personal termination of the third person (hono.). Therefore here त is of the third person, अहु of the second person and न्ह of the third person.

The persons of the cases having been thus fully defined by the abbreviated pronouns used in the verb, it is not necessary for a Maithili speaker to use a pronoun in a sentence. Thus छलिअहु, will mean I was (at your village); similarly, पोथी देलिऐन्हि, will mean I gave him a book; and so on.

Once this process is mastered, the language becomes as simple as Persian.

9. *Sundry Verbal Formations.*

Before proceeding to give an account of compound verbs, it is necessary to give an account of the conjunctive and such other forms to which the auxiliary verb is attached.

The Conjunctive.

The consonantal roots add इ to form the conjunctive. The roots which take the विकरण 'ब' take इ after the विकरण. The vocalic roots which do not take the विकरण use ए to form the conjunctive. √कर and √धर form their conjunctive as कए, घए. Thus, सुति, having slept; आवि, having come; दए, having given; etc.

Past Absolute.

It is formed by changing ल of the past participle to न and making it end in ए: पानि भेने उपजा खूब होइछ on raining crops grow well ; काज कएने आएब, please come after finishing my (or your own) work ; etc.

Though not used in conjugation of verbs, it may here be noted that by adding आ to the oblique base of the past participial forms, in Maithili the past absolute is formed.

Thus, सूर्य उगला पर आएब, I shall (or you may) come after the sunrise.

Present Participial Absolute.

ए is added to the present participle to form the absolute from it. Sometimes, nothing is added ; and the sense of the absolute is determined from the context. Thus, अन्न अछैते उपास, fasting even when one has grains; वर्षा होइत हमर मोन ठण्डा भएल, my mind became cool as soon as it rained ; etc.

Verbal Noun and the Infinitive

The following are the instances of verbal noun : कहवा क अनुसार काज करू, do according to saying ; ई कहला सँ लाभ नहि होएत, by saying this you will have no gain ; etc. The formative affix for the infinitive is ए: कहए लागल began to say ; मारए लगलथीन्ह, he begins to beat him ; etc.

10. *Auxiliary Verbs.*

The following auxiliary verbs are used to form the Compound Verb : √रह, to remain ; √द, to give ; √ल, to take ; √ताक, to look at ; √चा, ought ; √जाह, ग, to go ; √आ, to come ; √कर, to do ; √लाग, to get attached ; √पड़, to fall ; √बूझ, to know ; √ऊठ, to rise up ; √बैस, to sit ; √पा, to obtain ; √चुक, to fall ; √शक, can.

The following are the uses of the different auxiliary verbs : √रह, to remain :

It is used to denote the idea of remaining after doing a work and occurs after the conjunctive form of a verb. Thus एतए सूति रहैत छी. I remain sleeping here : एतए सूति रही, may I sleep here : किछु काल ओतए सूति रहलहुँ, I slept there for some time; -etc.

It differs from the same verb used to form periphrastic tenses inasmuch as in the compound verb as stated here it is found in all the tenses and moods, while as already seen above, it occurs in specified tenses. When it forms a periphrastic tense it expresses the idea of continuity, but here it merely denotes completion of an action. There it expresses habit, but here there is no such sense.

√द, to give and √ल, to take :

The forms of these two verbs are found to be used with the absolutive of the principal verb. The forms of √द, to give is used also with the infinitive in ए, in which case the idea of 'let' of English is expressed. The usual sense in which the forms of the verbs are used that of परस्मैपद and आत्मनेपद of Sanskrit grammar; i.e. we use √द when the fruit of the action goes to a person other than the doer: and when it accrues to the doer himself and the other connected persons have no interest in the matter we use √ल. Thus, बाजए दिअ, let me speak ; कहि दिअ, may I speak (in your interests) ; बाजि लिअ, please say (in your own interest) ; etc.

√ताक, to look at. The forms of this verb when used as auxiliary verb carry the sense of impossibility or undesirability of an action indicated by the principal verb which remains in its past participial form followed by ओ. The idea of undesirability or impossibility is used with reference to the doer.

टाका भेल्ये तकैन्हि, first let him have money (but this is not desirable for me to give it to him or it is not possible for him to manage for the money).

The auxiliary verb employs its optative forms for this purpose.

√चाह, ought and √बूझ, to understand. The optative forms of these verbs are used with the form of the infinitive of the principal verb in ए to 'express the sense of 'ought' of English.

Thus अपन काज करए चाहिअहु or बुझिअहु you ought to do your work. With the past participial form of the principal verb it denotes the idea of impossibility as in the case, टाका देलो चाहिऐन्हि, if I agree to give money, but I am not going to do that.

√जा; √ग, to go; and √आ to come. The forms of the first two verbal roots are used to denote the sense of completion of an action with the principal verb in its absolutive form. This happens in the case of the last verb also. The forms of the last verb root are used to express the idea of completion of an action accompanied with an outward and subsequent inward motion. The case is just the reverse when the forms of the first two roots are used. Thus, खा जाउ, please come, eat and then go; खा आउ, please go, eat, and then come.

It may here be noted that √ग can be used in the past tense only, while √जा can be used in the other two tenses only.

With the present participial form of the principal verb, the forms of √जा and √ग are used in the sense of doing a work individually. ओलोकनि अवैन गेलाह, each one of them has come.

√चल, to walk. It is used with the present participial form of the conjunctive form of the principal verb to denote the sense of continued action. Thus :--करैत चलह, go on working; हँसैत चलिहथि, he should continue to laugh.

√कर, to do. The forms of this verb are used to carry the sense of continuity of action. The principal verb remains in its past participial form. देखल करह, continue to see.

√लग, to get attached. This verb is used with the forms of the infinitive of the principal verb and expresses the idea of beginning of an action. Thus, मारए लगलथिन्ह, he began to beat.

√शक, to be able. The forms of √शक are used with the conjunctive of the principal verb to carry the sense of 'to be able.' Thus कए सकह न करह, do if you can.

√ऊठ, to rise up; √बैस, to sit. Both these verbs are used to denote the sense of suddenness. The principal verb remains in its conjunctive form. The distinction lies in the fact that in the case of the latter verb, the doer will remain quiet after the action while in the case of the former he will remain active even after the work is done. Thus, मारि बैसलाह, all of a sudden he beat (me); बाजि उठलाह, all of a sudden he spoke.

√पा, to get. The forms of the verb are used after the conjunctive form of transitive verb in the sense of 'to succeed in.' देखि पएबैन्ह, I shall succeed in finding him out.

√चुक, to fail. As an auxiliary verb it is used in the past and future tenses only. It occurs after the conjunctive form of the principal verb and carries the sense of 'completion of an action.' खाए चुकलाह, he has finished eating.

12. *Compound Verbs From Three or Four Verbal Roots.*

They are not of very wide application. Here I give only a few examples. काज करैत रहैत छिअहु, I am doing your work; काज कए देल करैत छिअहु, I am habituated to do your work; etc.

It will be seen that the extension is effected by use of more than one auxiliary verb.

13. *Formation of the Passive.*

In modern Maithili the passive is formed periphrastically. (1) The conjugational forms of the auxiliary verbs

√जा or √ग and √हो, or √थ used after the past participial form of the principal verb form the passive. Thus दोष कएल गेलैन्हि, this fault was committed by him; खाएल नहि भेलहु, it could not be possible for you to eat; etc.

2. The verbal noun in ना is used before the forms of the auxiliary verb roots √जा, √ग to form the passive or the impersonal voice. भात खएना गेलै, rice was eaten by him; हसना जाएत, I shall have to laugh.

(3) The absolutive in इ followed by forms of the verb √पड़, to fall, forms the passive in another way. हमरा बूझि पड़त, it will be known by me.

(4) The root is made end in आ and after it the conjugational forms of √ग or √जा are used to form the impersonal or the passive voice. Thus भात खा आ (?) गेलैक, by him rice has been eaten; हँसा गेलैक, he had to laugh; etc.

There are some more ways of forming the passive. But they are not in extensive use and therefore, they have been left out here.

14. *The Reflexive Voice or Karmakartṛvācya*

There are several verbs which though actively used carry the sense of passive and they are said to be in reflexive voice. Thus, घेल भरैत अछि the jar is filling; भात सिद्धहोइत अछि rice is being cooked; etc.

15. *The Formation of the Causative*

The causative is formed in two ways: (1) By substituting the short root vowels by its corresponding vowel of the गुण grade in the case of इ and उ and by a vowel of the वृद्धि grade in the case of अ. (2) By the use of infixed आ or आव or आए. The former type of causative is obtained from intransitive verbs only. Thus from √मर, to die, the causative would be √मार, to kill; from √टूट, to break, it would be √तोड़; etc. From √हँस, to laugh, the causative

would be $\sqrt{\text{हँसा}}$ and from $\sqrt{\text{सूत}}$, to sleep, the causative would be $\sqrt{\text{सुताव}}$; etc.

The participles from the causative stems are formed in the same way as in the case of primary roots.

16. *The Duplicated Verb.*

Certain verb forms are used in pairs in Maithili. Such roots are either similar in meaning or are connected in ideas. They together convey the idea of the intensive. These do not make what are known as compound verbs, as here both the verb roots are inflected. Some examples are given below. मारेत पिटेत छिऐन्हि, he is (or I am) beating him; कटेत छैत छपि, he is cutting and arranging; धरब पकड़ब; catching and arresting; etc.

16. *The Negative Verb.*

There is only one negative verb in Maithili, i.e. $\sqrt{\text{नकार}}$ to deny. In other case negation is denoted with the aid of the negative particle.

17. *The Compound Verb formed by Combination of Verb Roots with Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.*

They are current in the language as in Hindi. Thus, दर्शन करब, to see; मधुर लागब, to taste sweet; आगू बढ़ब, to advance; etc.

18. *Formation of the participles.*

The present participle is formed by addition of ऐत to roots that end in a consonant and to such vocalic roots as take the *vikaraṇa* 'ब', after the *vikaraṇa* and the other roots take simply इत to form it. Thus, from $\sqrt{\text{मार}}$, to beat, $\sqrt{\text{छू}}$, to touch, and $\sqrt{\text{खा}}$ to eat, the present participle would be मारेत, छूबैत, खाइत respectively

The past participle from roots ending in a consonant is formed by adding अल to the root. Thus राखल from $\sqrt{\text{राख}}$, to keep. Of the vocalic roots, not taking the विकरण 'ब'.

the roots ending in आ excluding the causative verbs and those that end in ओ take एल while the roots ending in इ, उ take इल, उल, to form the past participle; the causative verb root take ओल to form the past participle. The roots ending in इ, उ, ओ may optionally take simply ल. Thus नहाएल, from √नहा: पिउल or पील from √पी to drink; धोएल or धोल, from √धो, to wash; etc.

The future participle is formed by changing ल of the past participle to ब. Thus, from √खा, to eat, खाएब; from √सूत, to sleep, सूतब; from √नहा, to bathe नहाएब,

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND DR. ISHWARI PRASAD

By BISHESWARNATH REU

In the August 1944 number of *this Journal* Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the well known historian, in reviewing my book named *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors* writes :—"There is not much evidence of careful discrimination or weighing of facts culled from State Records in the light of Persian histories. The book abounds in inaccuracies and the account of Rao Maldeo's relations with Humayun is not quite correct and so is the account of Maharaja Ajitsingh".

The Doctor may be justified to express his opinion, but at the same time I hope the Editor of *the Journal* will kindly allow me to lay the facts before the readers of *this Journal* for their own judgment.

Emperor Humayun ascended the throne at Agra on December 29, 1530 A. D. But when on May 17, 1540 A. D. he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sher Khan at Kanauj, he roamed about the country for about two years in search of help, and on the 7th of May, 1542 A. D. arrived at Uchch. On the 2nd of July, he left for Marwar in the hope of securing the help of Rao Maldeo, who was at that time the mightiest of the Rajput rulers of India, and on the 31st of July when he was encamping at a place situated about 24 miles from Bikaner he was informed that though outwardly the Rao professes full sympathy towards the Emperor, yet at heart he nourishes evil designs against him.

When the royal retinue neared the boundry of Marwar, Sankai (Sanga) of Nagaur, a man of trust of Rao Maldeo, visited the Imperial camp, on the pretext of purchasing some precious diamonds, but the Emperor, suspecting his actions, conveyed to him that such diamonds could not be purchased

but they could be obtained either by the favour of the Emperor or by the force of arms.

After that as the Emperor became more suspicious, he sent Raimal Soni¹ to the Rao to take stock of the exact situation there. When the Emperor arrived at Phalodi, he despatched Atka Khan too to the Rao's court, who reaching there informed the Rao about the arrival of the Emperor. But Rao Maldeo, instead of receiving the Emperor personally, sent some presents to him with his servants.

We further learn from the *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begham that Maldeo intimated the Emperor about granting Bikaner for his expenses².

Nizamuddin, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, writes : When Humayun neared the territory of Rao Maldeo, he despatched Shamsuddin Atka Khan to Jodhpur, and himself encamped on the border, awaiting his return. But when Maldeo realised the weakness of Humayun as well as the deficiency of forces under his command to face Sher Shah, he was rather perplexed, as he himself had not enough army to fight against a foe like Sher Shah. In the meantime, Sher Shah too sent his own emissary to the Rao, and, assuring him of great favour, obtained his promise to hand over Emperor Humayun as a captive to him. Besides this, as Nagaur and its adjoining districts were then under Sher Shah, the Rao was afraid that in case, he incurred his displeasure, Sher Shah might send a large army to attack his own territory. He, therefore, to avoid the disclosure of his intentions, did not permit Atka Khan to return to the Emperor, but Atka Khan read his heart and escaped to his master without even asking the Rao's permission.

Mulla Surkh, one of the Librarians of Humayun, who, after the Emperor's downfall had come to Rao Maldeo, also

¹. *Akbar Nama* (E—English translation by Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 371-72.

². *Humayun Nama* (English translation by Mrs. Beveridge,) p. 154.

sent a secret letter to the Emperor, intimating him of the evil design of the Rao and further requested him to quit the territory of the Rao as soon as possible. At the same time Atka Khan too pressed the Emperor to do so. Thereupon, he immediately left for Umarkot³.

As at that time Rao Maldeo was unwilling to incur the displeasure of Sher Shah, so as soon as he came to know about the departure of the Emperor towards Umarkot, he deputed some (1500)⁴ of his soldiers to follow him.

Nizamuddin writes :—On his way, two Hindu spies were captured and brought before the Emperor. There a number of questions were put to them, and with a view to draw true facts out of them it was ordered that one of them should be put to death. But at that moment they freed themselves from their captivity and snatching the daggers from the two persons standing nearby, fell upon their captors, and after killing a number (17) of them, they themselves were slain. In this scuffle the Emperor's own charger was also killed.

Thereupon Tardi Begh was asked to supply some horses and camels, but he refused. This compelled the Emperor to take his seat on a camel. As Nadim Koka could not bear to see this, so he offered his own mother's horse to the Emperor and seated her on the Emperor's camel.

As the way lay through a sandy and waterless tract, the party was proceeding slowly and every moment there was news of the approach (of the army) of Maldeo. The Emperor therefore ordered Munim Khan to march in the rear of the party with some soldiers, so that he may resist the pursuers on their approach.

At night-fall Munim Khan and his followers lost their track, and at day-break they espied the foe. At that moment

³. *Tabakat-i-Akbari* (Elliot's History of India), Vol. V, pp. 211-12 and *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begham (English Translation—by Mrs. Beveridge), p. 154.

⁴. *Tazkare-al-Waqayat*, pp. 40-41.

only twenty-two persons, including Shekh Ali Beg, Koka Darwesh etc., were left behind, and when the enemy was passing through a hilly track, they fell upon them. As the leader of the enemies was felled by the first arrow of the Shekh, and some more of them were killed by others, this small band of Mughal soldiers was successful in routing the larger number of their adversaries⁵.

Jauhar, the author of *Tazkari-al-Waqayat* writes⁶ :— There were three parties of five hundred each in the enemy's army and Shekh Ali went to face them with only seven followers. As soon as they neared them, they began to shower arrows and by the grace of God two of the opponents fell down pierced by their arrows. This led the enemy to flee away from the field and the Emperor was victorious.

*Humayunnama*⁷ and *Akbarnama*⁸ also narrate this episode in the similar way.

But the version given in the Rajput chronicles is as under :—

When Humayun, after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah arrived near Jodhpur to seek the help of Rao Maldeo, the Rao received him with befitting honours. Here the Emperor expressed his desire to encamp at Phalodi rather than near Jodhpur, which was gladly accepted. Accordingly, when he left Deijar for Phalodi, the Rao deputed some of his soldiers to follow him to ward off any conflict in the way. But the Imperial party took it as a plan to do away with them in the way and plunder their treasures. When Humayun reached

⁵. *Tabkat-i-Akbari* (Elliot's *History of India*), Vol. V. pp. 212-13 and *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadahn Begum (Eng. Trans. by Mrs. Beveridge pp. 154-156 and *Akbarnama* (English Translation by Beveridge), Vol., pp. 373-374.

⁶. pp. 40-41.

⁷. Munshi Devi Prasad's Hindi Translation, pp. 70-73.

⁸. *Akbarnama* (English Translation by Beveridge) Vol. I, pp. 373-374.

Phalodi, some of his retainers slaughtered a cow there. This provoked the Rajputs, which increased the suspicion already existing in the mind of the Emperor, and therefore he left Phalodi and proceeded towards Umarkot. But the Rajputs took this slaughter as an insult to their religion and to avenge it they attacked the rear guard of the Imperial cavalcade near Satalmer and then turned back.

Though no mention of this event is found in Persian chronicles, yet we learn from Jauhar, the author of *Tazkare-al-waqayat*, that when the Emperor entered into the territory of Jaisalmer, his followers slaughtered some cows there. This offended the religious susceptibilities of Rao Lunkaran, the then ruler of Jaisalmer, and he commanded his son Maldeo to fill up all the wells with sand, which happen to fall in the way of the Imperial cavalcade, to deprive them of water. This resulted in the death of a number of Imperial followers. In this way, facing so many vicissitudes, the Emperor reached Umarkot.

In my opinion, the version found in the Rajput chronicles seems to be more reliable, because if the Rao had any mind to capture the Emperor to gratify Sher Shah, he could have easily done so, with the help of his 80,000 brave Rajput warriors, while the Emperor accompanied by a very small number of followers was encamped only eight miles from Jodhpur.

Further it is also impossible to believe the defeat of 1,500 Rajput cavalry at the hands of only eight or twenty-two Imperial horsemen as mentioned above.

We learn from the *Akbarnama* too that Humayun's party, at that time consisted of only 20 nobles, and a few soldiers and followers.

As regards the heroism of the Rajputs, it will be sufficient to point at the episode of the two supposed spies, mentioned above, who, even in captivity, were able to sell their lives so dearly, after killing 17 of their captors, as well as the Emperor's own horse.

As regards the slaughter of a cow, which is a most heinous crime in the eyes of the Rajpūts, I, looking to the statement of Jauhar, may presume that the Imperial party might have committed the same mistake even in the district of Phalodi just near the border of Jaisalmer.

Any-how after passing over his time of adversity, Emperor Humayun was able to re-capture the throne of Delhi on the 23rd of July, 1555 A.D., but unfortunately he could not survive long, as he breathed his last on the 26th of January 1556 A.D.

As regards the might of Rao Maldeo, I quote here a few proofs from the Persian histories :—

Abdul Fazal writes in his *Ain-e-Akbari*⁹ :—Maldeo, who is the sixteenth ruler of his dynasty, is the mightiest ruler. Even Sher Khan was on the point of being crushed at his hands.

The same author writes in his *Akbarnama*¹⁰ :—Rao Maldeo was the mightiest and greatest of all the rulers of India, in fame, splendour, army and territory.

We also learn from *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*¹¹ that Maldeo was the most influential ruler and his army consisted of 80,000 soldiers. He surpassed even Rana Sanga, who measured swords with Humayun.

We further learn from *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*¹² that the Emperor Sher Shah often used to say “Thank God that any how victory was achieved, otherwise I would have lost the empire of Hindustan for a handful of millets.

As regards Maharajá Ajit Singh, the learned Doctor has not pointed out the particular event; hence, I am unable to discuss the facts. But the appendix B of the book in ques-

⁹. *Ain-e-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 508.

¹⁰. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, p. 197.

¹¹. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, preface, p.7.

¹². *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, p. 107.

tion itself contains a number of original proofs refuting the charges brought against the Maharaja by the old and the new historians.

At the end of the review Dr. Ishwari Prasad has written.—“The appendices are larger than the text of history. It would have been better if Mm. Reu had in his history utilised all the information and given us a systematic and critical survey of the development of Marwar.”

In this connection I may inform my learned friend that I have already brought out a systematic and critical history of Marwar in two volumes each volume containing 400 pages¹³, while this book is only to put at one place all the new and original proofs unearthed by the writer to facilitate the access of the scholars as requested by eminent scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar and Sir Jadunath Sarkar and pointed out in the preface of this book. Further the 62 pages introduction is only to show their connection with the history of Marwar at particular places.

It is a pity that modern scholars lean more towards the Persian chronicles, which, being first printed, are easily accessible to them, but when the facts established on mere Persian chronicles are tested by Rajput chronicles, they in some cases prove to be only a house of cards.

In conclusion, I may add that if more clarification of the facts is needed the Doctor will ever find me at his service.

• 13. *Marwar-kā-Itihāsa*.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RASAVAD-ALAṆKĀRA IN SANSKRIT POETICS

By ANIMA BOSE

Not realising the importance of suggested Rasa as the 'soul' or essence of poetry, and maintaining the sufficiency of embellishment of its expressed form or outward 'body' by means of Alaṅkāra (poetic figure) of Śabda and Artha, older theorists like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin could not recognise Rasa independently. The idea of Rasa is certainly known to them, but whenever it occurs in a composition, they call the expression an Alaṅkāra and give it the name of Rasavat, which they define as a poetic figure which manifests the Rasas clearly.

This, in Ānandavardhana's opinion (ii. 4-6), is not a correct procedure. The Rasa being the Aṅgin, and the Śabda-Artha being the Aṅga, all cases of Rasa do not constitute Rasavad-Alaṅkāra. Cases of Aṅgin Rasas are cases of Rasas only. But there are instances where it is possible to subordinate Rasa (Aṅga) and use it, even as an Alaṅkāra is used, as a means of beautification of another idea; it is, in that particular case, not Rasa but something else. Thus, in the praise of a King, love for the king is the main idea suggested; it is a Bhāva; but the description of the heroism of the King (Vīra Rasa) may be effectively, but subordinately, employed, to embellish the main Bhāva of love for the king. Here Rasa is not the Aṅgin, but an Aṅga, and is undoubtedly used as Alaṅkāra. Here is the proper scope of the name Rasavad-Alaṅkāra.

• But the necessity naturally arises of explaining how Rasa, which is Aṅgin or essential and therefore fit to be embellished (Alaṅkārya), can itself be regarded as an Aṅga and a means of embellishment (Alaṅkāra). Ānandavardhana

therefore, makes an attempt to justify such proper cases of Rasavat by comprehending them under the class of poetry called Guṇibhūtavyaṅgya, in which the suggested sense (here the suggested Rasa) is subordinated to the expressed sense. The theory is put into shape by distinguishing such subordinated case of the inclusion of Rasa or cases of Rasavat from the sphere of Asaṃlakṣyakrama Dhvani, on the ground that when the Rasa is predominant and forms the essence of the composition, it constitutes the Aṅgin, and it is Alaṅkāra (yah punar aṅgī raso vā bhāvo vā sarvākāram alaṅkāryah, sa dhvaner ātmeti); but when it is subordinated to the expressed sense as a means of embellishing it, it constitutes mere Alaṅkāra or embellishment (aṅgatvena ca rasādīnām alaṅkāratā). But such cases of subordination of Rasa are cases of Guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya; for the Rasa, even when it is subordinate, is still a vyaṅgya, and cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as an Alaṅkāra.

This is the history of what is called Rasavad-Alaṅkāra; but later writers, accepting this view, but unwilling to depart from the authority of the "ancients", attempt to explain the problem of Rasavat in various ways by methods of ingenious interpretation. Most of these views are discussed by Viśvanātha. One school holds that the designation Alaṅkāra, given to figures like Rasavat is merely because they help the development of Rasa (rasādyupakāra-mātreṇa), is a purely secondary application (bhākta) of the term; for they are not really Alaṅkāras, but should be accepted as such in deference to the practice of the ancients (cirantaṇa prasiddhyāṅgikārya eva). These theorists admit (as Ānandavardhana does) a difference between Rasavat, on the one hand, and Alaṅkāras properly so called (such as Upamā), on the other hand; but the reason they adduce is that in the one case the Rasa directly embellishes another idea of another Rasa, but in the other case, the Rasa is indirectly embellished through the form of word and sense. But they

maintain at the same time that there is one thing in common between the two kinds, *viz.*, that both of them embellish the Rasa, either directly or indirectly, by being subservient to it. On account of this similarity of function, the designation Alankāra, which is properly applicable to such figures as Upamā, is applied to Rasavat by an extension of the sense (Bhakti); and this usage is supposed to have the sanction of 'ancient authorities to which we must bow. But this explanation is rejected by others as being too fine. The difference between Alankāras like Upamā, on the one hand, and the Rasavat, on the other, which is supposed to be due to direct and indirect embellishment, is admitted to be true, but is explained away as purely accidental and immaterial; and it is held that both should be designated Alankāras. A third view, which altogether rejects this distinction of direct and indirect embellishment, maintains that the general definition of Alankāra as that which embellishes is applicable as much to Rasavat as to regular figures like Upamā.

It is noteworthy in this connexion that Kuntaka does not accept the view of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha with regard to the Rasavat. He criticises their definitions, and holds that it is neither darśita-spaṣṭa-śrīṅgārādi-rasam, nor rasa-saṁśrayam, nor again rasa-peśalam, but rasena saha tulyaṁ vartamānam; and consequently, he thinks that it is not an Alankāra but Alankārya. He deals with Rasavat topically under Vastu-vakratā, which may relate to both Sahaja and Āhārya Vastu, the delineation of Rasa coming apparently under the latter head as Kaviśakti-vyutpatti-paripāka-prauḍha. But Mammaṭa following Ānandavardhana, regards Rasavat as being comprehended under the Guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya. And this view of Mammaṭa is generally accepted by most later writers who deal with the question.

THE CONCEPTION AND NUMBER OF PRAMĀṆAS ACCORDING TO VṚTTIKĀRA UPAVARṢA*

By V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Upavarṣa is considered one of the earliest vṛttikāras on the *Pūrvā* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. Some scholars identify him with Vṛttikāra Bodhāyana whom Rāmānuja follows closely in his *Śrībhāṣya*; others who do not accept this identification suggest that Bodhāyana is none other than Kṛtakoṭi. Many others question these identifications on the strength of internal and external evidences. Still they remain as vexed questions in the History of Sanskrit literature.

It is now an accepted fact that Śābarasvāmin, the celebrated bhāṣyakāra on the *Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* quotes in his *bhāṣya* on I. i. 5 from Upavarṣa's text. He does not, however, quote *verbatim* from his *Vṛtti*. He refers to one and the same person as Vṛttikāra in one place and by Upavarṣa in another. It is proposed in this paper to give an account of Upavarṣa's views regarding the nature and number of pramāṇas as gleaned from Śābarasvāmin's *Bhāṣya* on I. i. 5. and the *Śloka-vṛttika* thereon.

According to Upavarṣa, pratyakṣa is ever-valid. He defines it by the part of the Sūtra : 'सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धि-जन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षम्' by transposing the two words *sat* and *tat*. He adds that the so-called invalid perception like 'इदं रजतं' is not a genuine pratyakṣa but only a pratyakṣābhāsa a semblance of Pratyakṣa-also known as "असमीचीनप्रत्यय" which is characterised 'यस्य च दुष्टं करणं यत्र च मिथ्येति प्रत्ययः स एवासमीचीनः प्रत्ययो नान्य इति' Where the sensory organ of the perceiver is affected by

* Read in the Philosophy and Religion section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares, 1943.

some defect and where the sublating cognition arises there is doubtless an invalid perception and nothing else.

Nirālambanavāda of the Yogācāras :—Vṛttikāra Upavarṣa then proceeds to establish that all cognitions possess objects which have objective reality. Unless this is established, the authoritativeness of codanā on dharma, conceptions of puṇya and pāpa etc. cannot be explained on the basis of the Vedic texts. The Vṛttikāra observes :—

“प्रमाणत्वाप्रमाणत्वे पुण्यपापादि तत्फलम् ।
विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रार्थनामधेयादिकल्पना ॥
सर्वेषु लक्षणेष्वेवं स्वप्रमाणगणैः स्थितिः ।
वचनव्यक्तिभेदेन पूर्वसिद्धान्तपक्षता ॥
कर्मभ्यः फलसम्बन्धः पारलौक्येह लौकिके ।
सर्वमित्याद्ययुक्तं स्यादर्थशून्यासु बुद्धिषु ॥
तस्माद्वर्मार्थिभिः पूर्वं प्रमाणैर्लोकसम्मतैः ।
अर्थस्य सदसद्भावे यत्नः कार्यः क्रियां प्रति ॥”

The Yogācāras among the Bauddhas who are generally known as Nirālambana-vādins argue that all cognitions are devoid of real objects. They accept the reality of cognitions but deny the reality of the objects they present. The Mādhyamika denies the reality of the cognitions also on the basis of the unreality of the objects they present. This is why the Bhāṣyakāra and the Vṛttikāra attempt the establishment of the reality of the objects presented by cognitions with the object of establishing the reality of the cognitions themselves. So observes the Vṛttikāra :—

“तदार्थशून्यं विज्ञानं योगाचाराः समाश्रिताः ।
तस्याप्यभावमिच्छन्ति ये माध्यमिकवादिनः ॥
तत्र बाह्यार्थशून्यत्वं तुल्यं तावद् द्वयोरपि ।
निवृत्त्यास्य ततो ज्ञाने तद्वत्संबृतिकल्पना ॥
तस्मात्साधारणत्वेन तन्मूलत्वेन चाप्ययम् ।
बाह्यार्थसदसद्भावे यत्नो भाष्यकृता कृतः ॥”

The commentator Sucarita Miśra explains the *Vārttika* as follows :—

“योगाचारा हि ज्ञानमात्रसमर्थशून्यं परमार्थिकं मन्यन्ते । माध्यमिकास्तु ज्ञेयाभावादकर्मकज्ञानानुत्पत्तेः ज्ञानस्याप्यभावमिच्छन्ति । तत्र द्वयोरपि वादिनोस्तावत् बाह्यार्थशून्यत्वं साधारणम् । अर्थनिवृत्त्यधीनत्वात् ज्ञाननिवृत्तेः । अतो द्वयोरपि साधारणो बह्यार्थापलाप इति स एव निराक्रियते । अपि च तन्मूलो ज्ञानापह्नवः । (?) तनएनस्मिन्निराकृते निराकृत एवेति बाह्यार्थसद्भावे पूर्वोत्तरपक्षविभागेन भाष्यकृता प्रयत्नः कृतः ॥”

The Yogācāras establish the unreality of external objects by two Pramāṇas—pratyakṣa and anumāna. The anumāna is first given by the Bhāṣyakāra in the opening *Bhāṣya* :—“ननु सर्व एव निरालम्बनः स्वप्नवत्प्रत्ययः” which, if put in a syllogistic form, would run thus : “सर्वोऽपि प्रत्ययः निरालम्बनः, प्रत्ययत्वात्, स्वाप्नप्रत्ययवत्” । This is further elaborated and explained by the *Bhāṣya* :—“प्रत्यक्षस्य हि निरालम्बनतास्वभाव उपलक्षितः स्वप्ने, जाग्रतोऽपि स्तम्भ इति वा कुड्य इति वा प्रत्यय एव भवति । तस्मात्सोऽपि निरालम्बनः” ॥ Just as all dream-cognitions are unreal in the sense that they do not present any real object, so also the cognitions in the awakened state are unreal, inasmuch as they are also cognitions resembling those in a dream. The *Bhāṣya*, therefore, supplies the three parts of the syllogistic argument—dṛṣṭānta, upanaya and nigamana.

Mīmāṃsaka's refutation :—The Mīmāṃsaka refutes this view thus :—the Pratyakṣa is more powerful than the anumāna ; so the inference establishing nirālambana-tva in reference to all cognitions in the awakened state contradicts the perception that all those cognitions are real. The objection that in the dream state, all cognitions appear to be real and valid is met on the ground that those cognitions are subsequently, sublated by those in the awakened state when the person realises that he was in the state of a dream or his mind was affected by drowsiness, while those in the awakened state are not sublated by similar cognitions—“स्वप्ने विपर्ययदर्शनात् अविपर्ययाच्चेतरस्मिन्” . The argument that just as the dream-cognitions are unreal those in the awakened state can also be

considered to be unreal as they too are cognitions, is refuted by the fact that the invalidity of cognitions is found in their state of not being sublated by any succeeding cognition. “तत्सामान्यादितरत्रापि भविष्यतीतिचेत्-यदि प्रत्ययत्वात् स्वप्नप्रत्ययस्य मिथ्याभावः, जाग्रत्प्रत्ययस्यापि तथा भवितुमर्हति । अथ प्रतीतिस्तथाभावस्य हेतुर्न शक्यते प्रत्ययत्वादयमन्य इति वक्तुम् । अन्यतस्तु स्वप्नप्रत्ययस्य मिथ्याभावो विपर्ययादवगतः । कुत इति चेत्-सनिद्रस्य मनसो दौर्बल्यान्निद्रा मिथ्याभावस्य हेतुः स्वप्नादौ स्वप्नान्ते च । सुषुप्त्याभावएव । अचेतयन्नेव हि सुषुप्त इत्युच्यते । तस्माज्जाग्रतः प्रत्ययो न मिथ्येति”

The cognitions in the awakened state are not sublated by any succeeding cognition, nor is it known that the sensory organs of the person who cognises are affected by any defect as found in the dream-state. So the dream-cognitions are unreal and invalid while those in the awakened state are real and valid.

A cognition like नीलं cannot prove the existence of an external object like nīla as distinct from the cognition itself. What is actually experienced is the cognition with the form nīla which is considered the svātmāmśa—the part of the cognition. The Yogācāra accepts the cognition as svaccha—pure and devoid of any quality—, yet it is associated with certain elements which may be considered the offspring of the previous cognitions that are transmitted to the succeeding ones when the former perish :

“मत्पक्षे यद्यपि स्वच्छो ज्ञानात्मा परमार्थतः ।

यदाप्यनादौ संसारे पूर्वज्ञानप्रसूतिभिः ॥”

So the cognition is the only reality deemed both grāhya and grāhaka—the object of perception and the perceiver. Though the cognition is one, the experience of it as grāhya and grāhaka is due to different kinds of vāsanās that are associated with it while one lives in this constantly changing world. The distinction of pramātā, pramiti and prameya—knower, knowledge and the known—is all unreal and based on the multifarious vāsanās in a way associated with the stream of rising and falling cognitions. The Vijñānavādin adds that

the reality of cognition cannot be denied even by those who accept the objective reality of external objects presented by the cognitions. It would therefore be better to say that the so-called objects like 'नील' presented by cognitions 'इदं नील' are *ākāra* or form of the cognitions themselves.

The Mīmāṃsaka refutes the view of the Vijñānavādin by pointing out that the grāhyavastu—the object perceivable—and the grāhaka, the perceiver or the means of perception cannot be identical. Even instances like ātman and light which illumine themselves while illumining others cannot prove the identity of grāhaka and grāhya though the properties of grāhakatva and grāhyatva at times reside in one and the same thing. The *Bhāṣya*: “स हि बहिर्देशसम्बन्धः प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यते।” explains that the object of perception is that which is in contact with the “बहिर्देश”; the cognition “इदं नील” has the idampadārtha which is perceived outside by the perceiver as its object which again is other than the cognition or part thereof—If it be solely the form of cognition, it would have been known as “नीलमहम्” and not “नीलमिदम्”. The *Bhāṣya* “उत्पद्यमानैवामौ जायते जापयति चार्थान्तरं प्रदीपवत्” again opposes the view that there is the external object which becomes the viṣaya of cognition. The cognition when it is generated is also cognised like the bright light (without external help), and presents something as its object. So it becomes both grāhya and grāhaka simultaneously. This is met by the *Bhāṣya*. “सत्यं पूर्वं बुद्धिस्तप्यते न तु पूर्वं जायते।” It is true that cognition is produced, but it is not cognised at the time of its generation; nor does it become the object of itself when it presents an external artha as its object. The view that the cognition becomes both the grāhya and grāhaka simultaneously is objected to on the ground that sometimes we experience the grāhaka element without the grāhya when we say that a particular thing, though well known to us, is not always remembered or appears to be unknown; . “भवति हि कदाचिदेतत् यत् ज्ञातोऽप्यर्थः सन् अज्ञान इत्युच्यते।”

Hence it cannot be maintained that the elements of grāha-katva and grāhyatva are identical.

The concluding *Bhāṣya* of this section “काममेकरूपत्वे बुद्धेरेवाभावः, नार्थस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य सतः” clearly points out the fact that if only one of the two—the cognition and the external object—is to be accepted, the cognition may even be negated rather than the external object the reality of which is perceived by each and every person. The acceptance of the reality of the external object is based on the universally valid perceptions that present these objects to our view. Hence the views of the Yogācāras and the Mādhyamikas that cognitions are devoid of real objects and that they are void cannot stand.

The Definition of Anumāna:—The definition of anumāna, according to Vārttikāra Upavarṣa is given by the Bhāṣyakāra thus :

“अनुमानं ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्यैकदेशदर्शनादेकदेशान्तरेऽसन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे बुद्धिः”—

the inferential knowledge presents an object which has no contact with the sensory organs “असन्निकृष्टे” and which is one probandum of the two (related objects एकदेशान्तरे); (and this knowledge arises) on the basis of the perception of the other, *viḍ.* probans (“एकदेशदर्शनात्”) when their relation (invariable concomitance between the two) is known (“ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य”).

The meaning of the compound ‘ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य’: Every part of this definition is carefully scrutinized and explained by the Vārttikakāra. The compound “ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य” may be taken as a bahuvrīhi or karmadhāraya. If it is a bahuvrīhi it may mean (1) “ज्ञातः सम्बन्धः येन” the pramātā or the knower who has already experienced the sambandha—the invariable concomitance of the probans and the probandum, both of which are conveyed by the words “एकदेश” in the definition; or (2) “ज्ञातः सम्बन्धो यत्र” the pakṣaikaśeṣa in which the same sambandha between them might have been experienced;

ABHIJNĀNAŚĀKUNTALAM, A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY

By KSHEMADHARI SINHA

In this small paper I want to put something regarding the psychological phases elicited from the study of the *Śākuntalam*. It is impossible to take up all the verses in serial order and locate them in the link of the psychological laws of mind. I would, therefore, take up some interesting verses from it and try to link them with the psychological laws of mind enunciated in Western philosophy. For fear of inordinate prolixity animal psychology is set on the back-ground. In the verse :—

यदालोके सूक्ष्मं व्रजति सहसा तद्विपुलतां
यदधो विच्छिन्नं भवति कृतसन्धानमिव तत् ।
प्रकृत्या यद्वक्रं तदपि समरेखं नयनयो—
र्न मे दूरं किञ्चित्क्षणमपि न पादवै रथजवात्¹ ॥

The king Duṣyanta describes the rapid changes that the acclerity of the horses brings about in the objects of the “Visual perception.” The changes in the various cameras of bioscope when horses are running a contested race are shown in the board. There are so many cameras and each of them represents a momentary change i.e. shows the single phase of trot when the horses run. Exactly the same thing is described here. The gradual transition from minuteness to bulk, from breakage to repaired and from crookedness to straight nature all this is, to say, suppressed by the extremely rapid force with which the horses run where carrying the chariot and the intervening phases are set on the background, so that the King has to remark, “because

• ¹ Act. I. Śl. 9.

of the speed of the chariot nothing is either by me or off from me.”

इदं किलाव्याजमनोहरं वपु-
स्तपः क्षमं साधयितुं य इच्छति ।
ध्रुवं स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारया
समिल्लतां छेतुमृषिव्यवस्यति² ॥

This śloka corroborates the well-known line of Shakespeare, “Who ever loved that loved not at the first sight;” The psychological laws of mind are well-demonstrated. But the King has hit his first mark on his object of love. The initial stage is undoubtedly a show of disinterested remark wherein the reader finds a mere generalisation. The delicate and frail constitution of Śakuntalā associated with the combrous and onerous duty with which she is interested gives the first thrill in the artery of the King who feigns to be a disinterested spectator and the King is compelled to remark an analogy, “Surely the sage attempts to saw a branch of sami tree with the edge of a blue lotus leaf.”

मरसिजमनुविद्ध शैवलेनापि रम्यं
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मी तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वक्त्रलेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम्³ ॥

Herein we find the sentiment of the King rising a ladder. We have still but a disinterested aesthetic sentiment of the King, i.e., free from reference to self and its concerns. But the psychological law of mind has no exception as it is said, “The pursuit of aesthetic pleasure is often orduous, painful and irksome. Greater the interest, heavier the burden.” The whole drama is replete with the testimonies of its proof. If the reader leaves the King

² Act. I. Sl. 16.

³ Act. I. Śl. 17.

to his lot he himself finds an instance of Poetic induction in the form of a generalisation, "what is not an ornament to forms really graceful."

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा

यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।

सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु

प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः⁴ ॥

We now find the King garbed in robes of selfishness. A scion as he is to the greatest and loftiest and most sacred family of kings, he cannot venture to stoop to vulgar adultery and a legitimate course must be chosen; this is matrimonial alliance. The King is ignorant of the origin of Śakuntalā but clings to her personality and his selfishness is mantled with a lofty generalisation, when he says, "In doubtful matters the propensities of the minds of the noble are decisive proof." This generalisation exonerates him from the blame of "a desire for marrying a higher caste," i.e., he is sure, the girl does not belong to a Brāhmaṇa family.

वैखानसं किमनया व्रतमाप्रदाना—

द्व्यपाररोधि मदनस्य निषेवितव्यम् ।

अत्यन्तमेव मदिरेक्षणवल्लभाभि—

राहो निवत्स्यति समं हरिणाङ्गनाभिः⁵ ॥

It is a query made to the friends of Śakuntalā wherein the king's extreme curiosity for knowing the exact period of the continued verginity of Śakuntalā outbursts itself. Could the king himself explain the interrogation? Perhaps not. An indifferent vergin is playing in the hermitage. What prompted the king to the question? It is also coloured with a pink of interested love, when we see the simile of her eyes and those of the dear playing together.

⁴ Act I. Śl. 19.

⁵ Act I. Śl. 23.

Undoubtedly there is concealed sympathy in the underground that peeps with the idea that such a beautiful girl should not and could not have been associated with the quadruped inmates of the forest and then deeper the reader dives into the heart of the king, greater the laurels with which he comes out. For, look here, the king is impatient to hear that Śakuntalā does not pass a life-long celibacy and that her verginity is limited by the natural matrimonial alliance. We may call the king's question brimming to obscenity when we mark in it the colour of cupidity "व्यापाररोधि मदनस्य."

वाचं न मिश्रयति यद्यपि मद्वचोभिः

कर्णं ददात्यभिमुखं मयि भाषमाणे ।

कामं न तिष्ठति मदाननसंमुखीना

भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः⁶ ॥

This verse gives us the crisis of the age of Śakuntalā. She is not only developed but she reached a stage where delays are dangerous. But for the noble descent, she could have scarcely retained her chastity. A few counted visits produce these dreadful sentiments and symptoms of blooming passion playing in the core of the vergin's heart. In this śloka we find pairs of discordant sentimental phenomena mingled anthetically. Śakuntalā dares not enter into an open conversation with the king or look at him but with whole-hearted wrapt attention sips up the ambrosial questions made by the king himself. Her mind and body though identically the same wear divergent colour. Her external features give a lie to the workings of her heart and this curious phenomenality playing in her heart is perceptible to that one only who has forgotten all his appertenances and sunk into the workings of her heart.

गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्थितं चेतः ।

चीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य⁷ ॥

⁶ Act. I. Sl. 27

⁷ Act. I Śl. 30.

These lines give us a clue to that stage of the king's sentiment where a physical separation for even the twinkling of an eye is unbearable. The analogy vivifies it. The gust of wind dashing against the waving banner when the flagstick is being carried to the opposite direction is here put for the workings in the heart of the king. The waving flag little cares for the stick when it is dashed asunder by the contradictory wind. So does the heart of the king care not for the physical environments and circumstances, that handicapped him. They had their own ways. Circumstances compelled the king to sever himself off from the then physical locality. But his heart like the waving cloth of the pinion dogmatically clings to that celestial physique that he compares with the flash of the lightning.

स्निग्धं वीक्षितमन्यतोऽपि नयने यत्प्रेषयन्त्या तया
 यातं यच्च नितम्बयोर्गुरुतया मन्दं विलासादिव ।
 मा गा इत्युपरुद्धया यदपि सा सासूयमुक्ता सखी
 सर्वं तत्किलमत्परायणमहो कामी स्वतां पश्यति* ।

In this verse we once again find how the king interprets the outward expressions both vocal and facial relating to the girl. Every movement in her action is sealed with and gets the tinge of the king's selfishness. The very fact that he loves her produces in him an idea of the reciprocity of his love. Her exchange of words with Priyamvadā is taken by the king to be based on that very reciprocity budding as it is still in her heart. The bulk of hips would naturally bring sloth in the gait of Śākuntalā and this our lover (Duṣyanta) attributes to the deliberate tarrying in her movement. All this stands on one side; while on the other, works the adage "स्नेहो हि पापशंकी" which is repeated by a Sakhī of Śākuntalā at the time of her departure for husband's home. Stand as it does, the king

is himself sceptic of the recovery of its momentary sickness just as the guardian of a babe is of the recovery from its momentary sickness. In short, we may here remark that the king gives the analysis of her heart which is rightly called. "मनोवैज्ञानिकविश्लेष."

शमप्रधानेषु तपोधनेषु

गूढं हि दाहात्मकमस्ति तेजः ।

स्पर्शानुकूला इव सूर्यकान्ता-

स्तदन्यतेजोभिर्वाद्ममन्ति⁹ ॥

With an eye on this śloka and another on the avenue of the context we get a glimpse of a strange drama working in the heart of the royal lover. His heart has screwed itself on the divinely beautiful lady. But he cannot wash his hands off the royal insignia which he bears. Royal command for the capture of forest beasts is already given. The commander knows but little what passes in her hermitage and the psychology of the royal heart is a dream to that purely military martial spirit. Amorous sentiments are not for him to look at, while the king himself pines for the celestial beloved and fidgets for finding a scope for a long stay in the hermitage. Neither time nor energy has he for hunting excursions and then the difficulty pitches higher still as he has put forward a reasonable ground for the postponement of excursions. It should not only be strong but should wear the colour that behoves the highly religious glory the king wears and not less the sacred potentiality concealed into the inmates of the hermitage absorbed in but austerities, sacraments and penances. It is therefore that we find the analogy of the solar jewel's emission of light and fire with the touch of solar rays. In short, the commander gets the order of postponing the excursions as any sort of foul action is likely to stir up the hidden glory of the hermitage wherein merely the externalities wear up

⁹ Act. II. Śl. 7.

a peaceful appearance of calmness, non-violence and forbearance.

दर्भाकुरेण चरणक्षत इत्यकाण्डे

तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।

आसीद्विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती

शाखासु वल्कलमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम्¹⁰ ॥

The reader will permit me to crave for pardon when I have to remark in this verse that the Vidūṣaka of Kālidāsa out-does the Falstaff of Shakespeare. The present Falstaff has not only humour and farce for recommendation. He plays the part of a private secretary to the king's amorous department (i.e., technically called नर्मसचिव) as well. He has full authority for discussing with the royal lover and the king has to satisfy him when persuing the satisfaction of his passion. Consequently, the king means to say, "I am busy not only for an aerial architecture. There is sufficient substantiality in the substratum of my love. My beloved tarried her movements on the external plea of her thorny prick in the outskirts of her wearing apparel of extricating the cloth from it." The artificial interval gave the girl scope for expressing her sentiments to and about the king and sipping the royal personality with her amorous glances. Equally eager she is for the search of the royal heart. She expects a fitting response to the cordial love that has now become her psychological sickness and physiological unrest. She little knows how her love is received by the royal lover. But more than the lover or beloved knows the reader how developed and how reciprocal is the mutual love of the pair. Let the slanting lines of their love rise up in harmonious directions, each anxious to meet the other ; it is sure there must be a vertical pyramid.

यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम् ।

तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददात्यारण्यका हि नः¹¹ ॥

¹⁰ Act. II. Śl. 12

¹¹ Act. II. Śl. 13

The king is awfully busy with the Vidūṣaka on the topic of the celestial target and discusses the question of re-entering into the hermitage. On what plea? This is the question. The Vidūṣaka irresponsible of anything else makes the suggestion of entering into the cottage with the plea of toll collection (rent realisation). Poor fellow! He has no culture; he takes it befitting the dignity of the king to approach the noble ascetics personally as the hermits are too high personages to have demands from the royal peons or tax-collectors. To this suggestion the king means to say "Damn with your proposal, don't apply royalty everywhere. Their sacred personalities should not have these groveling demands for taxes. As for rent or revenue they automatically pay one sixth fraction of the fruit (moral results) of their virtuous deeds." Now, just mark the psychological analysis. Doting as the king is for a young girl not wholly so absorbed, since quickened he is by the noble hermitage to which he belongs. There is a conflict between his groveling interest and his noble blood. Each must have its share. The solution will, therefore, have to be given later on (in the text). For the present we must be rest assured with the notion that the king's noble heritage predominates. For the time being, the groveling interests are made to be suppressed. It is, therefore, that the king cancels the proposal of the Vidūṣaka. His sense of duty and moral obligation mingled with that royal responsibility never leave him. This is due to the inherent nature latent in him.

कृत्ययोर्भिन्नदेशत्वाद्द्विधीभवति मे मनः ।

पुरः प्रतिहतं शैले स्रोतः स्रोतोवहो यथा¹² ॥

This is an instance of sheer conflict of desire and active resolution resulting therefrom. The king is fidgeting for gratifying his amorous passion and his love for the girl

gives him a smarting unrest. At any rate his stay is a dire necessity ; but as ill-luck would have it, he gets a call from his mother for attending some ceremonials to be performed by her for his own well-being. He is an ideal hero and he must not and should not trifle it. Thus, he has a strong problem practically. This is our psychological problem. The practical phenomenon of impulse has already occurred and the stages are rising. First we have inhibition स्तब्धभाव. It is a kind of tension that paralyses the will. In this state of mind problems press up and two courses are wide open. Each has its own vehement and violent force for the impulses. The second stage is to compare the relative values of the desires as ends and also the means for realising them, i.e., the king has to ponder over the two courses. Next step is choice. Herein the hero has to identify himself with a particular desire and thus he is held responsible for the act. The course chosen by the hero is to stay in the hermitage. But definiteness comes in the last stage and he has to stop his instant departure homewards, vesting the Vidūṣaka with the duties of his own personality towards the royal mother. At any rate this is a mere substitution ; so a response to the royal mother's call is done by a substitute only. It is, therefore, that in the lines following the above verse we find the king authorising the Vidūṣaka to go home in response to the call of his mother with the whole royal retinue. The problem is thus solved. But the reader will himself mark the difficulty in which the king is put. The problem has only been solved off. The solution has not satisfied the lofty dignity and the royal nobility that wear the high responsibility with which the crown is set. Now, in conclusion little remains to be said. We must not shut our eyes to the hidden sense of shame which must have overpowered the king while dismissing the Vidūṣaka with the royal retinue merely for the satisfaction of the groveling

passion. The verse in pure words merely takes the conflict of his desires.

क्व वयं क्व परोक्षमन्मथो

मृगशावैः सह मेधितो जनः ।

परिहासविजल्पितं सखे

परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः¹³ ॥

The Vidūṣaka is on the eve of his start for the royal residence. The lamp of love is burning in the royal heart and the royal hero is extremely anxious to mention secrecy especially because the reciprocity of his love has not yet been translated into action. He, therefore, means to say to his so called friend the Vidūṣaka, "Passionate love is a very delicate pathological disease and is much too serious before it is carried into actions. Cupidity should have a harmonious pair to play with. There should be no discord. Śakuntalā is a country girl and myself a noble scion of a very lofty family situate in a royal capital. You should never believe that love with her is my true subject. My friendly discourse with you must cover all subjects moral, amorous, philosophical and even political. Put not veracity in every line of it. You will often have jests and fun from me." Now, just mark in what critical plight our noble hero is put. The love has not yet been translated into matrimonial alliance and his friendly substitute vested with the royal personality (for the particular occasion) is not expected to have that gravity. He has no alternative. He must stick to the dotage and must leave his "Falstaff" of lower culture for home. All phases of policy here fail and his royal philosophy cannot work. He has to close his anxiety with the idea that, "the Vidūṣaka must believe in me when I deny this true love and that he will never

reveal this to any one much less to the harem inmates that dreadful jargon of secrecy at present."

शक्यमरविन्दसुरभिः कणवाही मालिनीतरङ्गाणाम् ।

अङ्गैरनङ्गतप्तैरविरलमालिङ्गितुं पवनः¹⁴ ॥

This verse supports the traditional phrase "Fever of passion." The physiological symptoms for ordinary fever and fever of passion are much too akin and similar. Increase in temperature, circulation of blood, rapidity of pulse beating and derangement of brain (in the critical stage)—all these play important part therein. Our poor hero, though royal, is subject to both kinds of fever. The actual fever of heat has not come but that of passion has already possessed him. Atmospheric heat, however, must aggravate the situation as already remarked and then he has no paraphernalia or royal appertinances with him. In this state nature helps him and gets a gentle waft of cool breeze associated with the lotus pollens and scent as also with the microscopic particles of soft aquatic drops and he realises this. There is nobody to listen to his expression of gratitude but at any rate his heart has to give it out and he is gradually feeling how the febrile heat is repressed and suppressed by the natural breeze that is sent by the gods residing in the sweet scented aquatic region of the Mālīnī river.

स्मर एव तापहेतुनिर्वापयिता स एव मे जातः ।

दिवस इवार्धश्यामस्तपात्यये जीवलोकस्य¹⁵ ॥

The king has been applying all the movements and expressions of Śākuntalā to her love for himself, but his curiosity has reached a great pinnacle and the psychological liminal point is already come. A crisis is here ; any further delay much more a sheer disappointment would explode his heart and volcanise it. Providence must send a

¹⁴ Act. III. Śl. 4.

¹⁵ Act III Śl. 9.

solace. In the crisis the heroine Śakuntalā who is engaged in a friendly conversation with the two friends remarks the reason of her unrest as, 'I have been reduced to this sorrowful plight since the high personality of that royalty appeared before my ken for the first time.' The king is sure that this lucky fellow is none else but himself and thus his loss of energy and time gets a strong hope ; we may say a thriving and prosperous hope. An intelligent hero as he is, he is sure that this time he is travelling in an imaginary circle. Śakuntalā has already given him to know what he wanted to know. Consequently, he describes his own psychological condition in poetic language and means to say, "God Cupid has been all the while playing with me and I was always afraid I would be hurled down to some condition base and ignoble but no, my smarting is sufficiently rewarded." Greater the labour, curiosity, smarting and interest, greater rises the value of the subsequent resultum thereof. I may here remark that Kālidāsa appears fond of squeezing every nerve of his hero and heroine before he rewards them with their 'ought to receive.' This principle of the poet is seen doubly applied in "*Kumārsambhava*". Wherein he puts his heroine "Gauri" subject to rigorous severities of austerities done in various seasons and then rewards her with a word from the hero Śiva as "अद्य प्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः" In this verse he is giving his psychological generalisation when he says "क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते" i.e., any labour or loss of energy is recouped sufficiently when the wished for desire appears in its magnanimity.

परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि द्वे प्रतिष्ठे कुलस्य मे ।

समुद्ररसना चोर्वी सखी च युवयोरियम्¹⁶ ॥

In this śloka we have three parties—the royal hero, the solicitous vergin, and her mate Priyamvadā. Of these,

¹⁶ Act. III. Śl. 17.

the king smarts with love for the heroine Śakuntalā whose love is, in its own turn, dangerously developed. Each of the pair is blind to his or her own merits and exaggeratedly over values the merits of the other. The consequence is that the poet dallies with the sentiments of both of them and so does the reader. It should be carefully marked that the adage “स्नेहो हि पापशंकी” has been working throughout. The country vergin Śakuntalā puts her doubt before Priyamvadā—will this marriage be to the displeasure of the present queens (the inmates of the harem) and Priyamvadā puts the same question directly to the king. At this our hero looses himself and his gravity. He has to take the solemn pledge and he says, “The sea-girt earth and this friend of yours will ever be the glory of our family, i.e., I put in your friend Śakuntalā the value that is not a whit less than that of the Earth.” The king, in the subtle core of his heart, would welcome the loss of the vast kingdom at the very moment he would think of forsaking his fiancée queen. The expression—“The sea-girt earth” merely gives us the magnanimous value she has, i.e. the Earth and the heroine Śakuntalā are put in the same scale.

Now, in most of the foregoing verses we have been blaming our royal hero for stooping himself much lower than his dignity would sanction and this verse cannot claim to be an exception to it. He cares not for the queens who are senior to Śakuntalā in age and sequence at least. He ignores their merits and this perhaps is of the bee-hood which he possesses, (when the bee (male bee) sips up exhaustively the juice of one flower and then enters the other for his enjoyment). Perhaps Kālidāsa could not have any way out of it. A moral compromise was impossible because of the plurality of queens that ancient kings had. No thoughtful vergin born of a celestial nymph and virtuous ascetic would ever condescend to play a mere maid servant or a concubine in the harem. It would not be overboldness to an-

nounce here that Śakuntalā's personality and noble thought surpassed the same of the king. The reader has been seeing how awfully smarting she has been with the curiosity for the reciprocity of her love. How curiously she surpasses her sentiments and throws a fling to the promise that she would never be playing merely a fiddle before her senior queens. She would enter into a solemn marriage with the king only on the pledge that she should be harmoniously received as a Paṭṭarājñī in the Royal family, though her question wanted merely the assent of her co-wives.

An important factor should not be left unmentioned here ; this is the religious and moral strength that the Indian scriptures have given to the male sex in general, i.e., a female of high caste has no other alternative but to cling to a husband that may be in caste either equal to her or superior to her. But a male is entitled to the privilege of plurality of wives. Perhaps this religious sentiment would support the king when we find the phrase “परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि” in the text. The king admits that he has and that he is entitled to have a plurality of co-wives while the heroine who is a country girl knows full well that she has no alternative and is, therefore, eager to exhort a promise of honour and dignity, in this crisis from her loving fiancé who would at this moment forego anything for satisfying his growing emotion (which may rightly be called at this stage a blooming passion).

तस्याः पुष्पमयी शरीरलुलिता शय्या गिलायामियं
 क्लान्तो मन्मथलेख एष नलिनीपत्रे नखैरपितः ।
 हस्ताद्भ्रष्टमिदं विसाभरणमित्यासज्यमाने क्षणो
 निर्गन्तुं सहसा न वेतसगृहाच्छक्नोमि शून्यादपि¹⁷ ॥

The sentiments of this śloka cannot be analysed without reference to its context. There are various readings of this verse and in one of them the piece of the scene

¹⁷ Act. III Śl. 23.

is unprofitably prolonged (as one of the annotators says). Perhaps it does not go for nothing. It furthers the action of the play. Therein you will find the hero and the heroine in an improved state of practicality; it may rightly be called an obscenity. But at any rate it helps the analysis of the present verse and gives a scientific explanation to the birth of the royal child that we find in the end of the play.

Now, Śakuntalā has been reluctantly weaned off from the secret and pleasant company of her royal consort. The Gāndharva-vivāha is finished. God cupid is satisfied on both ways. But it is not like the satisfaction of an organic appetite. Hunger is satisfied and a man is satiated with a delicious dish. But this passionate appetite is scarcely satisfied and in fact, the old example of fire and ghee ever goes playing. Each interview gives a call to the second one and satiety moves with the horizon. The present context shows that our royal pair have no doubt appeased their want and much more their organic appetite. But the true psychological craving for satiety is ever ablazed and the king is left on the threshold of that unrest. An intelligent reader can very well infer the sentiments of the loving heroine and also for she has now become a fit mate to the grateful hero. That pyramid of reciprocity of love is before the reader no doubt. But satiety is not the vertical point. Each little part of the appertinences and concerns of Śakuntalā gives a solace as well as a pang to the king.

There are so many belongings—the crushed out flower bed of Śakuntalā withered by her frail constitution, the love letter scribed on the lotus leaf with her nail and above all is the bracelet of lotus stalk slipped down her arms. These are the sources of the penalty that the Rājā had to pay for his new love. But there is no repentence. For a legitimate wife and a chaste consort is sure to meet her husband sooner or later. At any rate, however, we find the king

reluctant to leave this place. He suffers but little pang for at the sight of the above things he finds mighty consolation and his heart hums in soliloquy, "I cannot so hastily leave this bower of cane lonely though it be," it is, therefore, that an accidental call is given to him by an aerial voice "सायंतने सवनि."

संकल्पितं प्रथममेव मया तवार्थे
भर्तारिमात्मसदृशं सुकृतैर्गता त्वम् ।
चूतेन संश्रितवती नवमालिकेय-
मस्यामहं त्वयि च सम्प्रति वीतचित्तः¹⁸ ॥

Śakuntalā is on the eve of her departure for her husband's home and her mind oscillates like a pendulum turning at time towards her husband and at others towards the inmates of the hermitage. Kulapati Kaṇva is her foster-father. He has been fostering Śakuntalā for a period sufficient to allow him to play a true father. For all intents and purposes he has the same sentiment, and so every reader will look to him as upon the father of a girl ready for her husband's residence. Our heroine's house (husband's home) must not be at a distance less than a hundred miles. Now, let us scan his sentiments psychologically. More than two thirds of a dozen of sentiments we find wrapping the poor hermit :

(i) Before knowing of the private nuptial sage Kaṇva had been extremely solicitous for finding a husband befitting the personality of his daughter Śakuntalā. Now, this casual alliance has allayed his anxiety.

(ii) The sage knows full well the dignified personality of his so-called son-in-law Duṣyanta and has also perhaps known that Śakuntalā has the safest corner in the heart of hearts of her royal husband. Consequently, he is also up and transported with joy.

(iii) The lofty dignity of king Duṣyanta dignifying his girl Śakuntalā has also glorified his heart and now he has become the father-in-law of a Cakravartī king, which he must aspire for, as he has a daughter to give.

(iv) Simultaneously, he feels disburdening himself from the religious responsibility that burdens the shoulder of every householder having a daughter.

(v) But inspite of these relieving sentiments he must not be free from the pang that tortures every householder at the moment his daughter leaves him for a period unsettled and unknown. We may safely call it a kind of guarded grief. He does not repent but he suffers the pang. He does not think of amending but he thinks of forgetting one whom he has been nourishing from her very babyhood.

(vi) At any rate we find the word “वीतचिन्तः,” : and we should not forget the gravity of the heart of the great sage. He finds a kind of moral equilibrium and the peace of an equipoised hermit that must hence forward be the state of his and also his solace.

(vii) This solace he enjoys not only himself but puts it into the heart of the departing girl who must also be consoled on the eve of his separation from the hermitage wherein she has passed all her long past years fleetingly.

(viii) But we should not shut our eyes from the milk of kindness that has been flouring in the heart of the pitiful sage. Every piteous cry is hell in him and he must try to mend the situation. He has to nurse two fosters. One of these was girl Śakuntalā and another was the Navamālikā creeper both forlorn and uncared for. He has entered his heart in their interests and is gratified to find them united to king Duṣyanta and the mango tree respectively.

(ix) Above all we must appreciate the feelings of Kaṇva who has been keeping all the various heterogeneous sentiments in perfect harmony. He must be a perfect jñāni

and must have been attributing the worldly phenomenalities to the force of illusion "Māyā." There cannot be any psychological explanation to the above diverse sentimentalities other than the advice of Śrī Kṛṣṇa when he says.—

‘कर्मणा मनसा वाचा केवलैरिन्द्रियैरपि ।

योगिनः कर्म कृर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वात्मगुद्वये ^१ ॥

आचार इत्यवहितेन मया गृहीता

या वेत्रयष्टिरवरोधगृहेषु राज्ञः ।

काले गते बहुतिथे मम सैव जाता

प्रस्थानविकलवगतेरवलम्बनार्थी ^{२०} ॥

This verse depicts the sentiment of the Kañcukī. He seems to have behind him a series of long services covering his youth and reaching to his old age. A warder or a gate keeper in royal palaces has for his emblem generally the insignia of a long stick. It was very seldom used for any offensive or defensive purposes. This Kañcukī remembers the day when he had absolutely no necessity of any physical support. His stick only wore an external appearance for warding off the uncongenial elements or beings. Now, he has become so infirm and decrepid by virtue of his old age that he has to use the same stick for his physical support. He cannot stand on his own legs firmly. We can easily imagine his utility in the royal palaces. He must have possessed all the necessary elements for his post without ever making a slip, as a series of long standing services is behind him. But the poor fellow is now on the threshold of his retirement, and feels his responsibility rather irksome

¹⁹ BG. V. 11.

²⁰ Act. V. Śl. 3.

and is much more of the form of necessity than of mere diversion or glory.

औत्सुक्यमात्रमवसाययति प्रतिष्ठा

क्लिशनाति लब्धपरिपालनवृत्तिरेनम् ।

नातिश्रमापनयनाय न च श्रमाय

राज्यं स्वहस्तघृतदण्डमिवातपत्रम्²¹ ॥

We find the royal hero now in a different sphere. He is in his palacial court. Laden with his onerous responsibilities and irksome burden of his empire, he has shed off and had shirked himself off from his beehood. The curse of Durvāsā has full sway over him. There is no trace of love perceptible in his heart. It has been substituted by politics. Intricated questions have taken the place of the anxiety for the reciprocity of his love and then the peculiarity is that he finds no delight in the exalted position wherein Providence has placed him. Perhaps a psychologist would call his heart at this stage a black camera or a dark slate in magic lantern. Both physical and mental exhaustion seems to have spent him up. He little knows that a poor hermit girl is coming fully sanguine of a share in his harem and is much less prepared to lend an ear to her entreaties. At this stage he is neither a king proud of his dignity nor a loving hero ready for reaping the fruit of his flowery broadcast. If the reader passes from the chamber of pure psychologist to that of mysterious philosophy he can easily imagine that his heart is unconsciously and mysteriously getting itself prepared for receiving it. The king is not only indifferent to the glory of his exalted personality but rather calls it a burden. The metaphor of the umbrella is most striking in one respect. It saves the weather from the severities of heat and rain and so does the dignity of the state save the crowned monarch from the pinches of the

²¹ Act. V. Śl. 6.

dire necessities of human being. But akin to the handle of the umbrella is the management of the state. No pleasure can be felt without feeling its burden. Hand and heart respectively must be prepared for carrying their dutious burden before allowing the wearer a happy play of enjoyment.

का स्वदवगुण्टनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या ।

मध्ये तपोधनानां किसलयमिव पाण्डुपत्राणाम्²² ॥

Here is the art of the poet. We have found the hero and the heroine in perfect enjoyment of pleasures and also see that Śakuntalā is on the threshold of entering motherhood but curious are the ways of heaven. The intervening circumstances are cast in oblivion and the royal hero is now muttering the expressions akin to those that he gave out in his soliloquy on his first entrance to the hermitage. *of*. “अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं” . He has himself turned to be the enjoyer of this “अनाविद्धं रत्नं” and of “अखण्डं पुण्यानां.” But the dark clouds of Durvāsā’s curse has moistened the genial atmosphere of his heart and he views at her with almost the same curiosity that he did on the outset. But for our knowledge of Durvāsā’s curse we must have attributed an ignoble insincerity in him if only he had not possessed the noble dignity that he had. The reader can well appreciate or else depreciate the curses of Durvāsā: that claspings boon of the king to have turned so indifferent and to have been darkened by the wintry fogs of oblivion! How else could he be exonerated from the blame of immoral adultery and insincerity if only Durvāsā were not allowed to enter the stage.

इदमुपनतमेवं रूपमक्लिष्टकान्ति

प्रथमपरिगृहीतं स्यान्न वेति व्यवस्यन् ।

भ्रमर इव विभाते कुन्दमन्तस्तुषारं

न च खलु परिभोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम्²³ ॥

²² Act. V. Śl. 13.

²³ Act. V. Sl. 19

The cloud of Durvāsā's curse has darkened the sun of our royal hero's heart. It has possessed him at most and does not allow him to put confidence in the messengers of the sweet message of his father-in-law Kaṇva. But a noble scion as he is of the noble descent of his royal family, the fire of his conscience is not wholly extinguished. It is a smouldering from underneath the ashes of the curse. It is, therefore, that he is once again put between the horns of two dilemmas. The psychological difficulties of the conflict of duties are again ahead, perhaps Kālidāsa takes delight in putting hard tests in the moral decision of his heroes. Even an intelligent head would be unable to suggest any course; rather even the poet himself passes off with the solution. The solution is not satisfactory to almost every man of heart (रसिक). We may here compare this verse with the verse in the *Raghuvamśa* when Rāma has been put in a similar difficulty :

किमात्मनिर्वादिकथामुपेक्षे जायामदोषामुत संत्यजामि ।

इत्येकपक्षाश्रयविकलवत्वादासीत्स दोलाचलचित्तवृत्तिः²⁴ ॥

In both these cases the reasons are almost similar, i.e., a moral consideration for public ideas and the king's soliloquy bursts forth outwardly when he puts this question to the disciples of Kaṇva, "दारत्यागी भवाम्याहो परस्त्रीस्पर्शमांशुलः" Should I be prepared for incurring the sin of abdicating my wife or that of viciating myself with a touch of other's wife.

कृताभिमर्शमिन्मन्यमानः

सुतां त्वया नाम मुनिर्विमान्यः ।

मुष्टं प्रतिग्राह्यता समर्थ

पात्रीकृतो दस्युरिवासि येन²⁵ ॥

No psychologist can stop without remarking the fraternal love of Śārṅgarava and Śāradwat, the two disciples.

²⁴ 14. Śl. 34.

²⁵ Act. V. Śl. 20.

The inmates of the hermitage had in fact no blood-relationship but instead they retained the same sentiments and to this Śārṅgarava was no exception. One Gautamī took herself to be the sister of the sage and these two disciples consequently had to treat Śākuntalā as their true sister. We may also mention here that the friends Anusūyā and Priyamvadā also must have been taken to be sisters of Śākuntalā in the same light. Now with these pathological and artificial relationship the tie of mutual friendship was so strongly set that our Śārṅgarava stands by Śākuntalā with an idea no less than befitting a uterine brother (full brother). It is as he ought to have that he comes with his sister to reach her to her husband's house ; while the husband who is a great king, is wrapt in the clouds of forgetfulness and pronounces her to be an unchaste and corrupted girl impregnated by some body else. This is what offends the Śārṅgarava most and by his violent emotions and fit of impulse he is emboldened to call the king a vagabound debauchee. He means to say, "To our ignorance you with your natural profligacy spoiled the celibacy and chastity of our sister, this girl, Śākuntalā ; who had no other recourse but to enter into a solemn marriage with you. Now, that your amorous curiosity is satisfied you refuse to admit her in your harem. More than you is our Kulapati Kaṇva to blame. Instead of the approval of your matrimonial alliances he ought to have loaded you with curses for your downfall. This would have been the right path for him. Now, that he has shown his high culture and noble mentality, you take advantage of it. Your ignoble mentality deserved curses and not this homage ; so the Kulapati has been rightly punished for his indiscrete use of noble gentleness.

कामं प्रत्यादिष्टां स्मरामि न परिग्रहं मुनेस्तनयाम् ।

बलवत्तु दूयमानं प्रत्याययतीव मे हृदयम्²⁶ ॥

Our poor hero, though royal, has now been enslaved by Durvāsā's curse. All his noble descent and gentle nature with moral consciousness have been darkened by the forces of it. But a mysterious voice of God that we may rightly say dignity gives up its spark as a fire of Providence and at times throw some light. The king takes the story of his marriage no doubt to be a fibrated concoction manufactured at the hermitage of Kaṇva. But his conscience as it belongs to the member of an exalted noble family gets ready for lending an aid. So here is a great conflict and tension between the curse of Durvāsā and the royal conscience. The royal conscience is no doubt suppressed and its dim voice of mild humming turns inaudible among the bustles of the curse. The mist and fog of the curse has moistened his heart and the sun of his conscience peeps from underneath the dark clouds emitting forth its rays like the sun near about the advent of the autumn or in the middle of the winter.

इतः प्रत्यादेशात्स्वजनमनुगन्तुं व्यवसिता

मुहुस्तिष्ठेत्युच्चैर्वदति गुरुशिष्ये गुरुसमे ।

पुनर्दृष्टिं बाष्पप्रसरकलुषामपितवती

मयि क्रूरे यत्तत्सविषमिव शल्यं दहति माम्²⁷ ॥

Mysterious are the ways of Heaven. Human mind (or rather philosophical ego) is seldom satisfied. We have been marking how listlessly king Duṣyanta has been pining for his the then fiency (Śakuntalā). After the satisfaction of his desires just on the psychological moments when Śakuntalā had to withdraw herself from the stage of enjoyment the royal hero got again bed rid on his "Śakuntalā form" (*cf.* (तस्याः पुष्पमयी). Now, the same hero was forced by mysterious circumstances to abdicate her, as he has lost that continued presence of mind. Śakuntalā

²⁷ Act. VI. 9.

has been dismissed off and the divine protection has come on her. She is not available on this earth while the cloud of curse is dispersed and dissipated. King Duṣyanta has gathered himself comprehensively. We can easily imagine the emotion of unrest, grief and repentance vulcanising in the heart of the hero. The arguments that he repudiated are now not only approved of by him but he regrets of creating an opportunity for such gross arguments on behalf of Śakuntalā. Śakuntalā was right, disciple Śārngarava was right and so was the lady Gautamī. They jointly forbore the affronts of the king but now the shaft of "be off" has fled off it cannot be withdrawn and the intricacies of anxiety are all the more severe as she bore in her an embryo that was destined to be the legitimate successor of the king who had made the indiscrete use of his acute shaft. As it is "Harm watch harm catch," the royal husband has used an acute shaft for his legitimate wife, now let him have another of the same form of his own. Ready is the royal bosom to clasp once more the abundant heart. But nature is not a kind mistress her ordeals are severe and he must undergo penalties that will outway his maltreatment to the legitimate wife. Let him count her tears, let his heart be moistened with it, let the fire of remorse burn there in. The sun of remembrance has risen up now. Kālidāsa is after all a sentimental writer, he cannot venture, and he shall not venture to leave off the two spouse perpetually in their unrest. They will be restored to that period of enjoyment undoubtedly. We must be assured of it. It is merely a temporary poetic sport of our benign poet as, "न विना विप्रयोगेण शृङ्गारः पुष्टिमश्नुते"

यो हनिष्यति वध्यं त्वां रक्ष्यं रक्षति च द्विजम् ।

हंसो हि क्षीरमादत्ते तन्मिश्रा वर्जयत्यपः²⁸ ॥

King Duṣyanta is absorbed in his thought forms over Śakuntalā or in the words of the Vidūṣaka we may call him bedridden with "Śakuntalā disease." He little knows that his chaste wife has delivered a son that would be his natural heir apparant and that the boy and the mother are safe in celestical regions. Despondence, defection, disappointment, grief, repentence, and anxiety with all other pathological evils have possessed him. The guardians of Śakuntalā cannot stoop so low as to request him again for admitting her in his harem. It may be partly due also to the fact that they are afraid their prayer may be rejected and it is so. But it is not so. Being heavenly beings those divine residence must have known how the vail of ignorance has now been removed and the king's love has once again being unveiled. So at this critical state the poet has to check out some path. A compromise must be effected without hampering the honour of any party and Indra the celestial Lord is selected and he kills two birds with one stone. The Charioteer Mātali is deputed and he comes direct into the royal premises to take the king for some heavenly warfare with the demons. But he finds the circumstances quite adverse to the martial spirit that he wants in the king. To create that spirit in the king afresh he throttles the Vidūṣaka who is a pet friend of the king. At this psychological moment and on this incident the Vidūṣaka raises a cry for help and on his cry the king sends forth his shaft at random consecrating it with his mental force. He vests the arrow with full power for killing one who would be attacking his friend, the Vidūṣaka. But at the same time loads it with the responsibility of sparing itself from misuse. This bold step recommends the king's equipment with military training and his knowledge of science of warfare. He was not only a passionate lover but equally a dauntless warrior even when appearing against the demons. The most striking

feature that we find here is the poet's tact for managing the plot for a personal interview between the two spouses. Śakuntalā was a daughter of the celestial nymph Menakā and these nymphs are naturally creatures of Indra, so by inviting king Duṣyanta he is killing two birds with one stone.

Proceedings of the Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute held on Tuesday, February 13, 1945

The Foundation Stone of the buildings of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute was laid by His Excellency Sir Maurice G. Hallett, G.C.I.F., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., LL.D., Governor of the United Provinces on the North East corner of the Alfred Park in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering on Tuesday, February 13, 1945 at 11. 30. A.M. The function took place in a large and spacious Shamiana. In the unavoidable absence of the President of the Institute, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., D. C.L., LL.D., the Vice-President Dr. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.L., the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University presided over the function.

His Excellency the Governor arrived punctually and was received by the Vice-President who introduced to him the members of the Executive Committee of the Institute. His Excellency was then conducted to the Dais and was garlanded by Professor A. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D., Treasurer of the Institute. The proceedings commenced with Vedic Mantras recited by three Pandits, followed by a prayer from the Holy Quoran recited by Maulana S. Muhammad Ali Nami.

Thereafter the Secretary, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., D.Litt., read the following report :

Mahamahopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha died on November 10, 1941. Shortly afterwards, his numerous pupils and admirers felt that his memory should be perpetuated in a fitting manner. Encouragement came through a generous offer made by the hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwara Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga to donate Rs. 25,000 as a nucleus for a Memorial Fund ; this was added to by donations from Sir Padampat Singhanian, His Highness the Maharaja

of Tehri-Garhwal, Mr. H.G. Misra, and the Raja of Korea. Accordingly, a Memorial Committee was formed with the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as President and an appeal for funds was issued under the signature of over fifty eminent scholars and public men including amongst others Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the hon. Mr. M.S. Aney, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the rt. hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Bhagwan Das, Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Raja of Chettinad, Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the hon. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Dr. Panna Lal, the hon. Dr. Hirdaya Nath Kunzru, Raja Jagannatha Baksh Singh, Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Mm. P.V. Kane, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Bihari Mishra, Dr. S.K. Chatterji, Kumar Gangananda Singh, Dr. N. P. Asthana, Principal J.R. Gharpure. The appeal met with a sympathetic response.

It was felt that the most appropriate shape which the memorial could take was an Oriental Research Institute, and that the earliest opportunity should be taken to start the work. Thus, on the second death anniversary of the late Dr. Ganganatha Jha, the 17th of November, 1943 the inauguration of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute was performed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The authorities of the Hindu Boarding House have been kind enough to house the Institute until it has got a building of its own. Dr. Jha's valuable library of books and manuscripts was presented to the Institute by his sons. Through various other sources the Institute has received a fairly large collection of books and manuscripts. The Government of the United Provinces, the Government of Baroda, the Universities of Calcutta and Annamalai and other non-official bodies have kindly promised to present all their Sanskrit publications to the Institute. So the Institute has at present in its Library several thousands of books and manuscripts including a hundred Persian manuscripts.

Though perhaps the youngest in the field, the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute has at present over one hundred regular members including Mm. Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraj (Benares), Sir S. Radhakrishnan (Benares), Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Madras), Professor Muhammad Shafi (Lahore), Dr. Bhagwan Das (Benares), Dr. B.C. Law (Calcutta), Dr. F.W. Thomas (Oxford), Professor Franklin Edgerton (America) and Maulvi Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi (Azamgarh).

Since the Inauguration Ceremony, our collection has gone over Rs. 1,20,000. Prominent donors are His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, Lala Ramanand, Lala Kailashpat Singhanian, Seth Baijanatha Bhagat, Beni Madho, Lala Ram Ratan Gupta, Dr. B.C. Law, Lt. Col. Suberan Sumsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Messrs. Chathuram Horilram, Kamiyar Estate, Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, and Bharatendu Estate, Pt. Ravaneshwar Mishra and Seth Hari Ram.

It is gratifying to note here that the Government of India has entrusted the publication of its Sanskrit letters preserved in the Imperial Records Department to the Institute, a recognition which has been extended so far only to the well reputed universities of the country.

The Institute is now a registered body under the Societies' Registration Act XXI of 1860. We are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces for giving the Institute this plot of land which is about one and a half acre in area and where His Excellency will just graciously be pleased to lay the Foundation Stone of the proposed building.

The Institute started the publication of a Quarterly Research Journal in November 1943 under the editorship of Professor R.D. Ranade, Head of the Philosophy Department, Allahabad University, Dr. A. Siddiqi, Head of the Arabic-Persian Department, Allahabad University and myself,

It has entered on its second year and it is gratifying that during this very short period it has established its reputation and has secured a high position amongst Oriental Journals. It has attracted Oriental Scholars and Institutions even from abroad. Almost all the Oriental Journals including the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland have placed this Journal on their exchange list.

The Institute which has thus been started at Allahabad will really be a nucleus for higher research work in the field of classical Oriental scholarship in these Provinces where there was none so far. It will undertake, encourage and foster research and investigation in Sanskrit and other classical oriental languages. It aims at maintaining an up-to-date library consisting of oriental publications and as big a collection of manuscripts as possible. It will arrange papers, lectures, conferences, discussions on language, literature and culture. It will publish original texts and other works including translations, journals and bibliographies. It will make provision for scholarships and stipends for research scholars and hope to engage full-time salaried scholars and research students for carrying researches on scientific lines. It will foster the traditional scholarship of the land and also use the methods of modern oriental investigation.

Such an Institute will, we feel, be the best memorial in honour of one who combined in himself the depth and soundness of the Pandit and the breadth of outlook and liberalism of the modern scholar. Sir Ganganatha Jha's own field of researches covered a very wide area. His work included literature, law, religion, and various schools of philosophy. He had the highest regard for all forms of learning. It is our hope that those who work in for this Institute will be inspired by his high ideals.

The future of the Institute seems to us very bright in the hands of its present members of the Executive

Committee which include the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as President, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Amaranatha Jha as Vice-Presidents, Dr. A. Siddiqi as Treasurer, Professor R.D. Ranade and Ishwari Prasad, Dr. Tara Chand, Sir Padampat Singhanian, Rai Bahadur Bhagawati Saran Singh, Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya as members and myself as Secretary. Under the inspiring leadership of our President we are confident that the Institute will receive wide support.

We are exceedingly grateful to His Excellency the Governor for his keen and sympathetic interest in the activities of this Institute. It is our good fortune that His Excellency has been able to find time for this function.

With these few words I place before you, Sir, an account of what the Institute has done, the hopes it entertains, the aims it seeks to achieve, and the high ideals it cherishes. We hope that this Institute will materially add to the store of learning and will become a true centre of inspiration and light to all seekers after true knowledge.

After the Secretary has finished his report the Vice-President Dr. Amaranatha Jha, said: Your Excellency first of all, may I convey to you the regret of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, President of the Memorial Committee, for his inability to be present with us this morning owing to professional work. I have no doubt that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is as much disappointed at his unavoidable absence as all of us are.

On behalf of the Memorial Committee I express our warm thanks to you for the consistent interest you have been good enough to show in the work of the Research Institute. As the Secretary has reminded us, it is a very young institution, but it has begun well and we are hopeful that in course of time it will develop into one of the major centres of classical research in the country. (Applause.) I remember

the best part of his life was spent here in the city of Allahabad as Professor of Sanskrit of the Muir Central College and as Vice-Chancellor of this University; it was here that he spent his last years and here that he died in November, 1941. But Dr. Jha belonged not to any particular province but to India as a whole; indeed, his reputation as a Sanskrit scholar spread far beyond the confines of this country and it is most appropriate that his memory will be commemorated here in the city and University to which he was so devoted by the institution of a Research Institute to carry on the work that he began.

Sir Ganganatha Jha was one of the early Indian scholars of Sanskrit to apply modern research methods in the examination of ancient manuscripts. I am not competent to discuss this subject and can merely pay tribute to the pioneer work which he did. He also amassed a valuable collection of books, dealing with his particular subjects, Philosophy and Sanskrit. The intention is that this library, of which his sons have generously made a gift, should be housed in this Research Institute and should be available, along with other books which are being collected, to students and research workers. The latter are to be given every encouragement to follow the path marked out for them by the late Sir Ganganatha.

During these five years of war, culture and scholarship have been inevitably neglected; we think of the present and the future and we are at times apt to forget that we can learn much from the past; we may not be able to learn from a study of the past how to build aeroplanes or tanks; we may not be able even to learn how to improve our methods of agriculture in carrying out our grow-more-food campaign. But important though these materialistic problems are, there is another side of life, the spiritual side, which is of equal, if not greater, importance. It is to this side of life that the student of philosophy devotes attention and the world would

be the poorer if we did not have great men like Sir Ganganatha Jha to study the words of wisdom left by philosophers and religious teachers of old and to make their teachings available to the rising generation. The world may change materially, but the spirit of man does not change and there must be much wisdom that is buried away in the books and documents that still exist in many private homes, temples, libraries and possibly also in Government record rooms.

I have just returned from a visit to Bhopal, where by the courtesy of His Highness the Nawab Ruler, I was shown round the ancient Stupas of Sanchi which have been unearthed and reconstructed through the efforts of archaeologists. Those who are knowledgeable in such matters tell me that valuable information has been garnered from the Brahmani inscriptions on certain pillars, one of which is of that great administrator and law-giver of ancient times, Asoka. I understand that there are a number of similar places in many parts of the country which await the attention of archaeologists and those well versed in the ancient writings of India. I foresee for this Research Institute a vast field to work in and a big body of students to be trained in the correct appreciation and interpretation of the treasures of ancient learning that still lie buried in India.

Those who are responsible for this venture have a difficult task ahead of them, for it is no easy matter to lay the foundations of an institute such as this. Public opinion has to be canvassed. Money has to be obtained, and men with the true spirit of research and learning must be found to guide the course of the Institute and to pass on this spirit to students who will work under their direction. The cause is a worthy one and I am sure it will enlist general sympathy. In laying the foundation-stone, well and truly this morning, I hope that this will be symbolical of the way in which the Committee will lay a solid foundation for the future successful

working of the Institute, on the lines which would have been approved by Sir Ganganatha Jha himself.

Threafter accompanied by Dr. Amaranatha Jha, the Vice-President, Dr. Umesha Mishra, the Secretary, Mr. C.S. Venkatachar, the Commissioner of Allahabad, His Excellency left the Shamiana and laid the Foundation-stone of the Institute amidst cheers. While laying the Foundation-stone His Excellency said—"I declare the stone well and truly laid. May the Institute be worthy of Sir Ganganatha Jha."

After this the Governor inspected the site and then the function came to an end.

Amongst those who sent their good wishes are :

1. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*. In the course of his letter, the Honorary Secretary says :

"On behalf of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute I have very great pleasure in sending to the President and the Members of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute our warmest greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the Foundation Laying Ceremony of that Institute to be performed at Allahabad on 13th February 1945 at the hands of His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces."

2. *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* : "Wish every success to function and bright future to Institute."

3. *Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona* : "The Director and Staff of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona....wish the function a great success and express their hope that the Institute, the foundations of which have already been laid in the hearts of so many scholars in India, will now be truly and well laid in a concrete shape and will continue to attract the best scholars in India and abroad under the auspices of an Institute designed to commemorate so illustrious a name."

4. *The Adyar Library, Madras* : "The Adyar Library has great pleasure in sending its most cordial greetings to

the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute on the occasion of the Foundation-Stone laying ceremony of the Institute. We hope and pray that the Institute may continue to grow in strength and usefulness."

5. *Research and Postgraduate Department, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad*: "The Director.....congratulates the workers on their rapid success and expresses a wish that the Institute may become worthy of the great name that it bears."

6. *The Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain*: "...Send my sincerest good wishes for a bright and prosperous future of the Institute, which bears so illustrious a name."

7. *Greater India Society, Calcutta*: "The Greater India Society extends its best wishes for the complete success of function."

Messages wishing success were also received from the hon. Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga; H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur; Sir. S. Radhakrishnan; hon. Sir J.P. Srivastava (New Delhi); hon. Mr. M.S. Aney (Colombo); hon. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed (New Delhi); Mr. B.K. Gokhale C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to the Governor, Orissa; Babu Chandeshwara Prasad Narain Singh, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University; Dr. S.N. Sen, Director of Archives, New Delhi; Professor N.A. Gore, Ponna; Professor G.H. Bhatta, Baroda; The Ruler of Korea State; Dr. Panna Lall; Principal J.R. Gharpure, Poona; Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram; Dr. B.C. Law, Calcutta; hon. Sir Sita Ram, Meerut; hon. Mr. M.Ct.M. Chidambaram Chettyar, Madras; Professor Muhammad Shafi, Lahore; Kumar Gangananda Singh and many others.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS, VOLS.

•I & II: By Swami Sankarananda, with a Foreword by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta, M. A., Ph.D., (Hamburg). Rama-Krishna Vedanta Math (Publication Department), 19 B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. xliii + 102; li + 140, 1944. Price Rs. 4-8 + Rs. 10.

These two volumes record the product of the author's original researches in the culture of the people inhabiting the old forgotten cities situated in the Indus Valley. The author tries to establish the R̥gvedic origin of the pre-historic Indus civilisation. The book is mainly devoted to the explanation of religious symbols found during the excavations of Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa. The author also discusses the meaning of the word '*Aśva*,' and holds that the primary meaning of the word was the Sun, while the literal meaning is "that which does not stay even till tomorrow." There are many interesting facts noted down from original sources. However, the first book is divided into six chapters:—Deserted city, Symbol of Siva, Unicorn, Mother, The Serpents and Sylvan deities. The second book deals with still more important and interesting topics in five chapters: The Vedas, the Tantras (the script), the Tantric deities and their relation with the Vedic gods, Egyptian, Hieroglyphics and an Appendix giving the original meaning of the word *Aśvamedha*. He does not believe that a horse was ever sacrificed.

A new theory about the date of the civilisation has been advanced on the authority of Vedic texts and the Sumerian synchronism of the Indus civilisation suggested by

E. Mackay has been refuted. The theory of Kalpa is very interesting. Among the religious symbols, Sir John Marshall's phallic triad has been fully discussed and the conclusion arrived at is that the Śiva-līṅga is not the phallus. It is the symbol of the imagery tree over which the Sun was supposed to rise in the morning. The Sun in the allegorical Hindu literature was thought as a flower blooming in the sky on some tree whose root is above and the branches below. This tree is variously called *Aśvattha*, *Vilva*, *Audumbara*, etc. All these names signify that it is the sky tree and the modern Śiva-līṅga is its symbol. The Tantric worship and the Cult of Śakti were unknown to the people of the Indus cities. The serpent theory has been fully discussed and it is proved that the serpent represents a Vedic deity.

All these theories have been discussed most authoritatively and Swami Sankaranandaji has challenged the various old views of the Western thinkers. His views are orthodox in outlook. His Tantric code to decipher some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is very peculiar and it is difficult to be convinced of its correctness easily. He wants to link the later Tantric Cult to the ancient Vedic civilisation. He has offered altogether a new interpretation of the Archaeological finds at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa which needs further investigation.

However, the book is very interesting and it is possible that the line of informative thinking adopted by the Swamiji may lead to some more remarkable results. We are very grateful to him for placing his views before the scholars and provoking their thoughts. The author deserves our congratulation and encouragement for further researches. The book is so interesting and useful that no student of Hindu culture and civilisation can do without it.

MUDRĀ-RĀKṢASA OR THE SIGNET RING : By Viśākha-Datta, a play in seven Acts. Translated into English from the original Sanskrit by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit. New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay, 1944. Pages xvii + 277. Price Rs. 12.

We are all familiar with the name of our late R. S. Pandit. He was not only a great nationalist but also a good Sāṅskritist. He flourished in a Pandit family renowned for traditional scholarship. Mr. R. S. Pandit's remarkable translation of the historical Sanskrit work—*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (River of kings) is well-known to all. This is his another attempt to place before the scholars, unable to read the original text, the rich treasures of Sanskrit literature. There have been translations and editions of the the play before him, but they are not so critical and accurate in many cases. The spirit of the drama is not found maintained in them.

The Mudrā-Rākṣasa is one of the well-known dramas in Sanskrit literature. Mr. Pandit holds that the play was written about 400 A.C. and that Viśākhadatta flourished in the golden age of the Maurya period. The play was probably first produced at Pāṭaliputra at the court of Candragupta II (375-413 A.C.). It deals with the story of the foundation of the Mauryan Empire by the Emperor Candragupta.

Mr. Pandit did a great service by translating this drama into English. It is literal and omits nothing. It closely follows the text both in the prose and the lyrical passages, though it is a fact that the charm and beauty of the original cannot be appreciated in the translation. The translator has taken great pains to verify the correctness of the readings before translating the play.

Besides the English translation, the edition consists of useful introduction and most important Appendices. They deal with the origin of Sanskrit drama in all its

aspects ; a short note on Pātaliputra ; Viśākhadatta and the age of the Guptas; the Nandas, the Maurya and Cāṇakya and Iranian, Greek and Chinese contacts with India. The author also adds critical notes on different readings and important words and expressions of the text.

These Appendices are indeed very well written and are most useful for the proper understanding of the play. The translator has put the orientalist under a deep sense of gratitude by this fine contribution. We are sorry to lose his physical existence so early, though in spirit he is ever with us. It is well-said—कीर्तिर्यस्य स जीवति.

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS : (1) Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library : By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya ; The Adyar Library, 1944. Pages 210. Price Rs. 10. (2) Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library : Prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, Bikaner, 1944. (3) A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat : By Chintaharan Chakravarti, Krishnagar College, Navadip, Bengal. Published by Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243—1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pages 270. Price Rs. 6-4. 1935.

Manuscripts are our most valuable treasures. Even now there are innumerable number of manuscripts lying scattered all over the country. Most of them are in bad condition and there is a danger of their being soon destroyed. It is the duty of every one of us to make our best efforts to collect these and place them in place of safety. Efforts are being made in certain places towards this, but still there is a vast field for this work. In order to achieve success in this both men and money are needed. It is very gratifying to see that the need of a scientific classification of these MSS is being realised more and more

every day. Several institutions have taken up this work in right earnest.

(1) The Adyar Library is well-known for its fine collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. It has several rare and important MSS in its collection. Year after year the Library has acquired a large number of MSS either as originals or as transcripts. The authorities have been preparing an exhaustive descriptive catalogue but due to some reason or other such a project could not be finished as yet. But it is also very necessary to provide facilities to scholars regarding the MSS in the Library. Hence, the present volume has been published. It gives barely the name of the work and the subject under which the work comes. After each entry, the names of the important libraries in South India where the manuscript is available are also given.

The volume is divided into two parts. Part one gives the titles in alphabetical order, while the second part gives the list of authors, with their works.

The entire work has been done by the Pandits under the careful guidance of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The plan is very good and the whole attempt is quite successful.

(2) Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has not only enriched the Adyar Library with his experience and supervision but also has helped other libraries to prepare manuscript catalogues. The Government of Bikaner secured his assistance to re-organise the State Library under his expert direction. The task has been done quite satisfactorily. Dr. Raja's work was made easier by the cooperation of the curator, Pandit K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.

For higher studies it is very necessary to have the descriptive catalogues of manuscripts prepared on scientific lines and we are glad to find that the first attempt of the State Library, Bikaner has been so successful. The present volume contains a list of Vedic manuscripts along with Iti-

hāsa, Purāṇas and a part of the *Bhagavadgītā*. There are hundreds of manuscripts still to be classified and it is hoped that the catalogue of the rest will soon be available to the public. Both the editors and the Minister in charge of Education, who is taking keen interest in the matter, are to be congratulated.

(3) The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat has also in its possession a very good collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. It has published its descriptive catalogue under the editorship of Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, who is known as an expert in this science. The present volume notices 1652 MSS. All possible details, though brief, have been given in this catalogue. The critical introduction of the book is very important. It reveals many important points regarding the present collection. The oldest MSS in this collection goes back to the 15th century. Though the editor has tried to make this catalogue quite useful by supplying all possible information, yet there is still a more important task before the editors of Descriptive Catalogues to give a brief survey of the contents of each and every manuscript and all important references found therein.

Mr. Chakravarti's plan is far better than that of others. The Parishat is fortunate enough to secure the services of such an expert for its work. The Parishat has also published a similar edition of the collection of Bengali manuscripts (Vol. 1) in its possession edited by Mr. Chakravarti. Both these books are valuable publications.

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Vol. II]

AUGUST, 1945

[Part 4

THE
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[Part 4

DEFINITION OF BRAHMAN

By M. HIRIYANNA

It is usual to find in advaitic works a two-fold definition of Brahman—one called *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* and the other *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*. This distinction is apt to be taken as peculiar to the Advaita doctrine ; but there is nothing in the terms to restrict them to that doctrine or to make them applicable exclusively to Brahman. They are of almost universal application, and practically all things can be defined in both the ways. It may, therefore, be useful to say a few words about the nature of these definitions, and point out the exact difference between them.

The object of defining a thing is to differentiate it from everything else ; and this result is attained generally by reference to a property that is distinctive of it.¹ To give the stock example, a cow is defined by reference to the dewlap (*sāsnā*)—a feature which is found in all animals of the species and in none other. This is an instance of *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*, for the defining characteristic is an essential feature or a part of the nature of the animal defined. It will serve our present purpose better to take another example. Let us

¹ This is *vyāvṛtti* or 'differentiation.' There is also another purpose of definition, viz., *vyavahāra*, or fixing the meaning of a term for the sake of conveying an idea to others, which we are not taking into account here.

think of a village in which there is only one house that is built of bricks, the rest being all huts or mud houses. Now, we may define it by reference to this character, and the definition will enable any one to identify the house correctly. This is also an instance of *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*, for 'being built of bricks' forms an essential feature of the house.

The above, however, is not the only way of distinguishing the house in question from others. If we suppose that there is some kind of tree, say a mango tree, just by the side of the house and that no other house in the village is similarly characterised, then that mark will suffice to define the house. This definition, or more properly description, equally well helps in the identification of the house. The mark here, however, is not a part of the nature of the house, but is external to it. The definition is accordingly designated as *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*, literally 'definition by reference to a nearby circumstance or an accidental feature.' One advantage in this variety of definition is that it serves to identify the house (through appeal to memory), even when the mark has disappeared from the locality.² There is an important distinction between the two types of definition which we should bear in mind. While both alike differentiate the thing defined from the rest, the *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* alone gives us a notion of its character.

In some cases, however, the first of these *lakṣaṇas* is not possible. Let us take the case of a primary colour like 'red.' It cannot be defined by means of its intrinsic character, for 'red-ness,' which is its sole *distinctive* feature, is obviously of no help in doing so. In such cases, the only

² Sometimes the two *lakṣaṇas* are distinguished from each other on this basis of separable connection: *Taṭa-stha-lakṣaṇam nāma yāval-lakṣya-kālam anavasthitatve sati yat vyāvartakam tadeva.* (*Vedānta-pāri-bhāṣā*, vii). We have based the distinction here on the circumstance whether the mark is or is not a part of the nature of the thing defined; *Taṭasthatvam ca lakṣyasvarūpa-bahirbhūtatvam*; See *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (com), p. 53. Kumbhakonam Edn.

course open to us is to describe it in the other way. We may do so, for example, by indicating its precise place in the prismatic spectrum. That would be a *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*, since it identifies the colour by reference not to its essential nature but to its relation to elements external to it in a connected system of colours.

There are cases in which neither of these definitions is possible ; and a pre-eminent example of it is the supreme Brahman as taught in Advaita.³ No *svaṇīpa-lakṣaṇa* is conceivable of it because, though Brahman is not without its own essence, it has no characteristics by means of which it may be defined. For, according to the doctrine, it is *nirguṇa* or altogether without attributes. Nor is the other type of definition feasible for, by hypothesis, Brahman is the sole reality and there is nothing outside it. But for purposes of teaching or expounding the doctrine, a definition of Brahman is necessary since, without a general idea of it, no inquiry into its nature (*jijñāsā*) can be instituted. The work of reason pre-supposes some knowledge of the thing reasoned about. *Lakṣaṇa-pramāṇābhyām hi vastu-siddhiḥ*.⁴ Hence the advaitin has devised means to define Brahman in both the above ways. But before describing those ways, it is necessary to draw attention to an important principle underlying the advaitic inquiry as a whole.

All philosophy starts from experience. But it is usually assumed that the data of experience, if they are to lead to right conclusions, should stand for actual facts or be valid. This is not admitted by the advaitin as necessary ; and he illustrates his position by examples like the false image of a person, reflected in a mirror, being the means of showing to him

³ *Śūnyā* or the Absolute of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism would be another instance of it.

⁴ Cf. Aristotle : 'Definition is the beginning and the end of all knowledge.'

what is true about his appearance.⁵ That is, the advaitin attaches no necessary ontological significance to the data that serve as the bases of reasoning. He begins his inquiry, taking them at their face value, and leaves their validity or invalidity to reveal itself in the course of the inquiry or as its result. This is the meaning of the distinction of *prasiḍḍha* and *pramāṇa-siḍḍha* among them, which is sometimes made in advaitic works.⁶ The former are mere reiterations (*anurāda*) of common beliefs, and are not demonstrated truths like the latter. They are psychologically given, but are not logically established. In other words, *kalpita* factors may, according to Advaita, be as fruitful in philosophic inquiry⁷ as actual ones. Or, as it is somewhat differently stated, empirical facts, though they are not finally true, may be the means of leading us to transcendental truth.

This method of utilising untested beliefs is extended to the field of definition also. To explain how it is done, we shall go back to the example of the house. We may describe it, say, as 'haunted,' if there is a popular belief to that effect in the neighbourhood and there is no other house with the same evil repute in the village. The definition will serve to identify the house quite as well as either of the two given above but it does not necessarily mean that the person who defines it thus, or he for whose sake the definition is framed, believes in the actual existence of ghosts. The advaitin defines Brahman on similar lines :

⁵ See Śaṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtra*, II. i. 14., and cf. *Vākyapadīya* ii. 240 : *Asatyē vartmani sthitvā tataḥ satyam samāhate*. It may appear that the *jñāna* is real here ; although its object may be false. But knowledge without reference to its object is a mere abstraction. Or, as the Advaitin puts it, the former cannot be real when the latter is not so. Strictly, it is not *jñāna* at all, according to him, but *jñānābhāsa*. See *Iṣṭa-siddhi* i. 9.

⁶ See e.g. *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷ It is clear that this principle does not apply to the realm of being, and does not therefore mean that unreal causes can give rise to real effects.

(1) It is a common belief that the world is an effect which owes its existence to God. The Advaitin, utilising belief, defines Brahman as the cause of the world ; and he thereby distinguishes it from entities like Prakṛti and atoms which are regarded as the source of the world by other schools of thought. The definition merely means that there would be no world but for Brahman, and does not imply that the one has *actually* emerged from the other. The true nature of the relation between the two is to be known through investigation.⁸ It is a *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa* in that the characteristic of being the cause of the world (*kāraṇatva*) does not, according to Advaita, really pertain to Brahman. This is how the second *sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa—*Janmādyasya yataḥ*—is explained by Śaṅkara.

(2) It will be seen that the above definition only marks off Brahman from certain entities, but does not give us any notion of the actual nature of Brahman. That can be done, as stated above, by the *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* of Brahman. It also is framed in a similar way. Phenomena like knowledge (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*) are often explained as qualities of the self ; and they are usually taken to characterise God also, who is the highest self. The Advaitin starts from this common conviction, and describes Brahman as their substance. All that he does thereby is to convey to us the idea that Brahman is spiritual in its nature. Whether it is their substrate, in fact, is left to be determined by subsequent inquiry. According to the advaitic conclusion, as it is well known, none of them, as such, is a fact. The single or non-dualistic Brahman merely *appears* to possess these qualities by association with the *antaḥkāraṇa*.⁹ Really, therefore, they are manifestations through an imperfect medium, or limited

⁸ Primarily this means a rational consideration of the teaching of the scriptures.

⁹ Cf. *Ānando viśayānubhavo nityatvam iti santi dharmāḥ aprthaktvepi vaitanyāt pṛthagiva avabhāsante : Pañca-pādikā : (p. 4).*

revelations, of Brahman ; and, though they cannot in themselves represent its nature which is infinite knowledge and infinite bliss, they are fitted to give us a 'conjectural insight' into it as, for instance, limited space, which is what we know, may enable us to get an idea of infinite space.

This two-fold way of defining Brahman, it is pointed out, has the support of the Upaniṣads. In the third section of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, for example, Varuṇa, in teaching his son, Bhṛgu, the nature of Brahman, starts with its *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa* : 'That verily from which all these beings are born ; by which, when born, they live ; and into which they pass at death—that is Brahman.' Bhṛgu is then taken through a succession of inadequate conceptions of the ultimate reality, like matter (*anna*) and unconscious life (*prāṇa*) ; and the teaching culminates in the *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* of Brahman which refers, though but indirectly, to its very essence, viz., bliss (*ānanda*) : 'From bliss all these beings are born ; by bliss, when born, they live ; and into bliss they pass at death'.¹⁰ Only the Advaitin, as the result of his reading of the scriptures, regards the defining characteristics in both cases as *kalpita* or fancied.

¹⁰ As another form of *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* of Brahman may be instanced *Prajñānam Brahma*. (*Aitareya Upaniṣad*).

LORD WELLESLEY AND THE PURI PRIESTS

By S. N. SEN

On the 18th July 1804, Col. Harcourt addressed a letter to the Governor-General from Cuttack. Enclosed with it was a long slip of paper entirely overlaid with gold leaf bearing a message in a strange character with signatures in diverse scripts. The grateful priests, abbots, recluses, Vaiṣṇavas, Brahmans and the royal preceptor (*Rājaguru*) of Puri headed by Krishna Chandra Mahapatra had in a Sanskrit epistle paid their humble tribute to Lord Wellesley's prowess and policy of conciliation. The compliments so spontaneously paid to the Governor-General were by no means undeserved. It was his deliberate object to cultivate the good will and to win the good opinion of the priests of Jagannātha. When the second Maratha War broke out and the British troops were sent to take possession of the Maratha province of Cuttack and a Civil Commissioner was appointed with the Military Commander to restore normal conditions in the conquered country as early as possible, they were specially enjoined to look after the interests of the pilgrims and priests of Puri. In the instructions drawn up on the 3rd of August Col. Campbell and Mr. Melville were told :—

“ 6. The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jaggernaut will require your particular attention ; you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness.

• 7. On your arrival at Jaggernaut you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and Pilgrims you will furnish the Bramins with such guards

as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonies and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance.

8. The Bramins are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on pilgrims, it will not therefore be advisable at the present moment to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which Pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Bramins would necessarily tend to exasperate the Persons, whom it must be our object to conciliate. You will therefore signify to the Bramins, that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the Pagoda. At the same time you will be careful not to contract with the Bramins any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government, to make such arrangements with respect to that Pagoda or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations, as may hereafter be deemed advisable.

9. You will assure the Bramins at the Pagoda of Jagernaut, that they will not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government, than that which they may have been in the habit of paying to the Marhatta Government, and that they will be protected in the exercise of their Religious duties.

10. In every transaction relative to the Pagoda of Jagernaut, you will consult the Civil Commissioner whom I have named for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack.

11. You will understand that as part of the property, treasure or valuable articles of any kind contained in the Pagoda of Jagernaut, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the Priests or Bramins or Persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institutions is to be considered as prize to the Army. All such

property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use or by the customs and prejudices of the Hindoos. No account is to be taken of any such property, nor is any person to be allowed to enter the Pagodas or sacred buildings without the express desire of the Bramins.

12. You will leave a sufficient force in the vicinity of Jaggernaut under the Command of an Officer whom you will particularly select and in whom you can place perfect reliance for the due execution of the directions contained in these instructions.”¹

Intent on accomplishing a peaceful conquest of Cuttack if possible and to alienate the local people from their Maratha rulers Wellesley used diplomacy to reinforce arms and the services of a famous Bengali Pandit were enlisted to remove any doubt that might still lurk in the minds of the temple-priests about British intentions. “Jaggernaut of Triveni the oldest and most eminent of the Pundits in Bengal” may safely be identified with the celebrated Jagannatha Tarkapanchanan who survived till 1806. Unfortunately, the letter he addressed to “Ramchund and other Bramins residing at the temple of Jaggernaut” has not been preserved but in the English abstract with which Melville and Campbell were furnished, the Pandit.

“States from the knowledge which he possesses of the character of the English, he is enabled to assure Ram Chund & Co. that they need not be afraid to form a connection with the British Government, which is distinguished for its peculiar benevolence to its subjects.—Thus satisfied of this truth themselves, they must exert all their powers of persuasion to inspire the respectable characters in that quarter with the same degree of confidence. That it is impossible adequately to express his sense of the excellencies which characterize the disposition of the English; and that the British Government not only permits the Hindoos to enjoy

¹ *Sec. Cons.*, 1 March 1804, No. 46, paras 6-12.

the free exercise of their religion, but manifests the greatest degree of benevolence, favour and indulgence towards them, and all persons of whatever persuasion, rank, or condition in life.”²

Ramchand was not one of the signatories to the letter that Col. Harcourt forwarded to the Governor-General, nor is his name mentioned in the text. For all that we know he might have been a close relation of Krishnachandra Mahapatra and might have been dead since Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana's last visit to Puri. Meanwhile, the exertions of the mortal Jagannatha were being suitably backed by his divine namesake. On the 11th September a Brahman told Mr. Melville “That the Bramins at the Holy Temple had consulted and applied to Jaggernaut to inform them what power was now to have his temple under its protection and that he had given a decided answer that the English Government was in future to be his guardians.”³ Whether the reputed invincibility of British arms had anything to do with the deity's decision did not matter in the least. His predilection for the new power was decisive and we learn from another of Melville's letters (dated 19th September) that “The letter which Col. Harcourt wrote to the priests of the Temple of Jaggernaut gave them much satisfaction, and they sent a deputation of some of their principal Men to meet him one March distance from the Temple.” Melville further adds “that they appear to consider their being placed under the protection of the British Government as a blessing of Providence.”⁴ Col. Harcourt had in fact taken possession of the city of Jagannatha on the 18th September and he informs the Governor-General, “Upon application from the chief Bramins of the Pagoda I have

² *Sec. Cons.*, 1 March 1804, No. 12-12A.

³ *Secret Cons.*, 1 March 1804 No. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 14.

afforded them guards (of Hindoos) and a satisfactory confidence is shewn by the Bramins, priests and officers of the Pagoda and by the inhabitants of Jaggernaut both in their present situation and in the future protection of the British Government.”⁵

The confidence of the Priests were not ill-placed and their expectations were not unjustified. They were not indulging in oriental hyperboles where they expressed their hope that numerous pilgrims will ere long pour into the holy city from Brindaban and Benares, from Ramnath (Rameswaram) and Dwaraka. The Maratha Government used to levy a tax of eleven rupees on all pilgrims with the exception of “the notoriously” indigent and an additional levy of 2 Rupees per capita was made by the temple officers. The pilgrim tax used to bring a substantial sum (from 2½ to 5 lakhs) to the coffers of the state out of which forty to fifty thousand rupees had to be annually spent at the time of the two principal festivals. The pilgrim tax was for the time being suspended and such was the influx of devotees that Melville deemed it necessary to prohibit export of food grains from the province.⁶

This was not the only evidence of the prevailing sense of security. The Government used to employ an officer of their own to superintend the management of the temple. Its normal income derived from the daily presents of the devotees was by no means inconsiderable and went to defray the ordinary expenses. The deity had extensive landed property as well. Shivaji Pandit, the Officer in Charge of the temple on behalf of the Maratha Government, had absconded on the approach of the British troops. But he soon returned to the city and begged to be restored to his office. Melville had no confidence in him but he was tem-

⁵ *Ibid*, No. 59.

⁶ *Ibid*, No. 16-18, and 17 May, No. 112-13.

porarily re-appointed so that his knowledge of the previous administration might be fully exploited.⁷

Harcourt and Melville received repeated petitions and applications from “the officer and priests of the Temple of Jagernaut requesting the renewal of the toll” (pilgrim tax), a proposal which met with their unqualified support.⁸ Thus was a bloodless conquest crowned with the spontaneous submission of a contented people. When the Puri priests bore a glowing testimony to the blessings of the British administration Lord Wellesley’s diplomacy that did not ignore a retired octogenarian in a Bengal village or the poor pilgrims who visited the holy cities of Orissa, or the priests who had the custody of the great temple was crowned with its greatest triumph. The conciliation of Orissa was by no means a lesser achievement than the elimination of the Marathas from that province.

THE DOCUMENT

॥ श्रीस्वामी जगन्नाथजी सहाय ॥

श्रीमदिष्टदेवोप (पा) सनाप्रभावविभावितक्षितिभारोत्तारणपरायणेषु⁹ निजभुज-
वीर्याश्रितशौर्यचर्यापिर्याप्तभूमंडलांतर्वित्तिरिपुमण्डलप्रतापनिर्वापणपणीकृ-
तस्त्रीगणगोयमानगुणगणाश्रयेषु सत्कीर्त्तिकीर्त्तनप्रवर्त्तनासक्तजगज्जनेषु इ-
गरेजकुलकमलप्रकाशकैकभास्करेषु देववैष्णवब्राह्मणरक्षादीक्षितेषु नवा-
वमुस्तताव¹⁰ मालिअलकाव¹¹ असरफ अलअसराफ¹² मारकोइसवलज¹³
लं, गोरनरजनरल-¹⁴

बहादुरदामअकवालहु¹⁵ इतिनामधेयेषु श्रीमत्सु समस्तपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रवासि-

⁷ *Ibid*, 1 March 1804 Nos. 16-18, 25, 32.

⁸ *Ibid*, No. 37.

⁹ The expression suggests a comparison of the addressee with the Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu.

¹⁰ Ar. *Nawab Mustatāb*.

¹¹ Ar. *Mu'ala-i-alqāb*.

¹² Ar. *Ashraf-ul-ashraf*.

¹³ Marquess Wellesley.

¹⁴ Governor-General.

¹⁵ Ar. *Dam-i-Iqb-al-a-hu*.

नां श्रीमतां सतां महतां समस्तवैष्णवानां राजगुरुप्रभृतीनामशेषब्राह्मणानां षड्त्रि-
 शत्रियोग¹⁶नायककृष्णचंद्रमहापात्रप्रभृतिसेवकानां च परमाशिषो विलसंतुतरां
 श्रीजगन्नाथस्य महाप्रभोरिच्छानुसारेण नवावसाहेवस्याज्ञया च श्रीमंदिरे श्रीजग-
 न्नाथस्वामिनः इंगरेजबहादुरस्यावधानपूर्वकप्रयत्नेन सहायानामस्माकं सम्प्र-
 ति प्रावत्यमासीत् अतः कारणादेवास्माकं नैश्चित्यं मुखं च भाग्यानुसारेणागतं त-
 स्माद्वयं सर्वे क्षेत्रवासिनः सदाशीर्वचनानि कुर्महे ते वयं सर्वे भवत्संस्थानं प्रति मं-
 गलं प्रेषयितुमिच्छामः एवमेव च श्रीक्षेत्रे भवतामधिकारः स्यादिति विंचितया-
 मः भवद्यशोविषये चिंतायां श्रीजगदीशस्वामिमंदिरे भवत्प्रभुत्वं लोकमुखात्कर्तुं च्छा-
 स्त्रात्सूचनाच्च प्रागेव निरचैष्म संप्रति यथानिश्चयं नेत्रद्वारानुभवामः भवत्पक्षाणां
 युद्धोद्यमवेलायामनंतरे रिपुपराजये तद्विद्रावणे च यादृक् (क्) पराक्रममद्राक्षमः तादृक्
 पराक्रमं न कस्याप्यपश्याम न वा द्रक्ष्यामः तत्समये एवं तात्पर्येण सर्वेषां पा-
 लनं कृतं कस्यापि कुतश्चिदुपपन्नं वा नाभूत् तत्समयेस्माभिर्भगवत्परिचर्यानियुक्तैर-
 त्रस्थले युद्धं जातमिति न ज्ञातं प्राचीनाधिकारे यत्र कुत्रचित्स्वल्पकार्येऽप्यस्माकं
 बाधा स्थिता अधुना सर्वप्रकारेण भवदधिकारात्सुखमनुभूयते अस्माभिस्सत्यत-
 या आशास्यते यथा ब्रह्मादिभिर्द्धर्मसंस्थापनमकारि तथैव भवान्करोतु इति इंगरेज
 बहादुरस्य सावधानतयास्माकं सर्वेषां प्राणानां धनानां च रक्षां निश्चिन्त्येभ्यो वं-
 दावन-वाराणस्यादिदेशेभ्यः रामनाथात्द्वारिकातः सर्वे समागत्य भगवद्दर्शनं
 कृत्वा वैकुण्ठाधिरोहणमधिकरिष्यन्ति अत्र वयमपि भगवदग्रेऽहोरात्रं सर्वदा इच्छामः
 इंगरेजबहादुरस्याधिकारः सदा जागर्तुं श्रीभगवान्भवंतं प्रत्यहं स्वच्छायायां स्थाप-
 यित्वा उत्तरोत्तरं बृद्धिं प्रापयितुं वयं सर्वे भवत्कल्याणापेक्षिणो भवत्पालनया निर्भयाः
 संतः जगन्नाथस्य सेवायां नियुक्ताः स्थास्यामः ॥ ७ ॥ भोगोपि साधयति योगफ-
 लं हि यत्र जातिं विशेषयति भोजनमव्यवस्थं एतादृगस्य महिमा पुरुषोत्तमस्य दा-
 सीपदद्वयं रजांसि पुनरिति देवान् ॥ १ ॥ श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां गहनोहि पन्था बुधा म्धा धावत
 किं श्रेमेण न्यग्रोधमूले लवनोदतीरे ब्रह्मामृतं लोचनपेयमस्ति ॥ कुक्कुरस्य मुखा-
 द्भ्रष्टं यदन्नं पावनं महत् ब्रह्माद्यैरपि भोक्तव्यं भाग्यतो यदि लभ्यते ॥ योगिनां यो ह-
 दाकाशे विद्युर्दृष्टः प्रकाशते स एव दारुरूपेण नीलाद्रौ भासते महः ॥ ब्रह्मादिश्वप-
 चांतानां यत्प्रसादान्नभोजने न च पंक्तेर्हि भेदोस्ति जगन्नाथाय मंगलं । लक्ष्मीश्चे-
 न्न सरस्वती तदुभयं यद्यस्ति नोदारता तच्चापि त्रितयं घटेन कतिचित्पुण्यैर-

¹⁶ i.e., the 36 orders into which the immediate attendants on the god are divided. The Raja of Khurdhā the representative of the ancient royal house of Orissa holds the lowly office of sweeper to the god. According to Hunter (*Orissa*, I. 128) the Raja himself is the traditional head of the 36 orders. His defection from loyalty to the British power about the date of the present document perhaps explains why it is not he but Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, who is signing it as the head of the 36 offices.

गण्यैरपि सौजन्यं न विजृम्भते तदपि चेन्नास्त्येव धर्मे रतिस्तत्सर्वं जगदीश्वरस्य कृपया त्वय्येव संराजते ॥

Signatures :—

(In Oriya)

श्रीगोपीनाथशरणं
छतीशानीयोगनायक
कृष्णचन्द्र महापात्रंकर
ये दसकत्

(In Devanagari) श्रीजगन्नाथजी

एदस्तक जगन्नाथ
वल्लभके अधिकारी गु
रुमुखदासजी का ॥
श्रीराममहंतराम रत्नदास
सुरदासु (?) गुरुजी

(Illegible)

श्रीगोपाला जी (श्री ?)

श्रीइन्दरलालजी

श्रीराम

एदस्तक बडा अखाडा के महंत चेतनदासजी का

(In Kanarese)

श्रीमंत रत्ननृसिंहाचारि स्वामि

(In Devanagari)

श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः

महंत सौम्यजा—

मात्रजि

(In Telugu)

श्रीराजगुरु उ तिरुभलर्पिचिडि

वंकटाचार स्वामी

(In Devanagari)

श्रीराम श्रीरामजी

महंत छोटेसंत

बडेसंत रामसेवकदास जी

श्रीराम

महंत श्रीरामदासजी

(In Bengali)

श्रीराधाकृष्णः ।

श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रदेवगोस्वामि ॥

श्रीशीतलानन्ददेवस्य गोस्वामि

श्रीगोपीनाथदेवगोस्वामिनः

(In Devanagari)

श्रीराम अधिकारो नारायणदास

श्रीराम श्रीमहं

त जराम

दास जी

प्रमाणमिदं

जगन्नाथ

राजगुरोः ॥

(OR 24 July, 1804 No. 345)

Translation

MAY THE ILLUSTRIOUS LORD, THE SOVEREIGN
OF THE UNIVERSE, BE OUR REFUGE—

May the sincerest felicitations of the entire population of this city of the Supreme One, wealthy, pious and noble,¹⁷ of the whole Sect of the Vaiṣṇavas, of countless Brāhmaṇas headed by the Royal preceptor and lastly, of all the attendants of the Deity, like Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, the Chief of the thirty six holy offices, shed brilliant lustre on the exalted (personage) Governor-General, Marquess of Wellesley, known by the following titles “One—with—everlasting—fame” (lit. May—his—glory—continue), “the ruler universally accepted,” “Chief among all nobles,” and “wielding lofty titles ;” who is devoted to (the task of) bearing the burden of the earth which testifies to the (unique) virtue of worshipping his illustrious patron deity ; who is the repository of a host of virtues which are being sung by numerous women, who have been turned into his chattels, in consequence of his having extinguished the splendour of the orb that his enemies are, included in the globe of the earth, itself held in fee by the exhibition of his majesty derived from the prowess of his own arms; to whom the entire world is devoted on account of the repeated recounting of his noble fame ; who is the unrivalled sun that has caused to bloom the lotus that the English race is ; and who has

¹⁷ The expressions *satām* and *mahatām* possibly stand for ‘of *saints*’ and ‘of *mahants*’ respectively.

besides taken the vow of protecting the gods, the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiṣṇavas.

Supported as we are by the solicitous attention of the English power, our predominance has been established in the holy temple of our Divine Master Jagannātha partly through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the illustrious Sovereign of the Universe and partly through the desire of the esteemed ruler. It is on this account that security and comfort have come to us according to our luck. Therefore, we, the people of the holy city are ever engaged in pronouncing our benedictions and we wish to send our felicitations to your lordship. Further, we cherish but this desire that your authority over this holy city may continue in this way for ever. Previously while pondering on your Lordships reputation, we became convinced of (the inevitability of) your control over the holy temple from reports, discussion, the sacred texts and the trends (of current events). We are now beholding with our own eyes exactly what we foresaw. In no instance did we witness nor shall we ever discern such prowess as we saw when your forces were preparing for war and again at the time of the defeat and the expulsion of the enemies. During this period the entire population was protected by you in such a manner that not a single soul suffered even the slightest loss, and we who were employed in attending on our Lord were not even aware that a war was raging in the land. While in the previous regime we had to meet with obstruction even in the smallest matter, we enjoy happiness now in every respect under your government. Sincerely do we hope that your lordship will establish justice in the same way as it was done (of yore) by Brahmā and other gods and that having heard of the security in which our lives and properties are, thanks to the care of the British authority, people from other places like Vṛndāvana, Vārāṇasī, Rāmanātha and Dvārikā will all come to this city and having viewed the Deity will ascend to Vaikuṇṭha

And we, here are praying night and day to God that the supremacy of the English power may last for ever, that the Lord by placing your lordship under his lasting protection may promote your steady advancement and that, we your well-wishers, being rid of all fear (worries) under your rule may ever remain engaged in the service of the Sovereign of the Universe :—

• *Verses*.—Such is the virtue of this city of the Supreme Being that here indulgence (of the senses) brings the same reward as asceticism, taking of meals in disregard of (caste) rules serve only to cleanse the stains of birth and the dust of a slave girl's feet is capable of purifying even the gods (1).

The journey (of life) has been rendered difficult by the Vedas and the Dharma-Śāstras. In vain, oh elite, have you pursued (your path)? Of what use is this labour? On this sea-coast, beneath the banyan tree, is available the nectar of absolute truth for any one to drink in with his eyes. (2)

(Here) The purifying food even if dropped from a dog's mouth should be eaten by Brahmā and other Gods if by luck they find it. (3)

The light which flashes like lightning in the firmament of the soul of the ascetic, shines on the Blue Rock in the form of wood. (4)

Glory to the Lord of the Universe, in partaking of the leavings of whose food the bars of proximity do not operate between the Brāhmaṇas and other high castes on the one hand and dog-feeders and untouchables on the other. (5)

Where there is prosperity there is no learning; where both co-exist liberality is wanting: If three of them happen to occur in one place in consequence of numerous meritorious deeds (done), courtesy does not manifest itself; and where the last-named is found piety is sure to be absent. But it is in you alone, that all these shine together through the grace of God. (6)

THE NANDI-PURĀṆA

By R. C. HAZRA

No *Ms* of this work has been discovered up to the present time. There is a work called *Kedāra-kalpā*¹ which, in one *Ms*², claims to be a part of the *Nandīśvara-purāṇa* or *Nandi-purāṇa*. but it can be little doubted that this *Kedāra-kalpā* is really an independent work having nothing to do with the *Nandīśvara-p.* or *Nandi-p.* The total absence of any *Ms* of the *Nandi-p.* has compelled us to base our present account of this Purāṇa on the information contained in the extant Purāṇas and the *Smṛti-Nibandhas* as well as on the verses quoted from the *Nandi-p.* in the latter works.

In all the printed editions of the *Matsya-p.* the *Nandi-p.* is described as follows :

— नन्दाया यत्र माहात्म्यं कार्तिकेयेन वर्यते ।
नन्दिपुराणं तल्लोकैराख्यानमिति कीर्त्यते³ ॥

‘ It is declared that (the Purāṇa), in which the glory of Nandā (i.e. Gaurī) was declared by *Kārttikeya*, was called *Nandi-p.* by the people.’ The above mentioned verse of the *Matsya-p.* of which the second line has obviously defective readings, occurs in Aufrecht’s *Ms* of the *Matsya-p.* with the reading

¹ Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss*, ASB, V, pp. 794—799 (No. 4143) and pp. 792-794 (No. 4142). In the former *Ms* the work consists of three parts, of which the first part claims to belong to the *Rudrayāmala*; but in the latter *Ms* the work claims to be a part of the *Vikhyāda-purāṇa*.

² Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, pp. 81-82, No. 137. In this work Śaṅkara speaks to Nandikeśvara on Mahāpatha. It is the same as Paṭalas 11 ff. of Shastri’s *Ms* No. 4143, but in Shastri’s *Ms* Śvara (i.e. Śiva) speaks to Kārttikeya.

³ *Matsya-p.* AnSS ed. 53, 61; Venkaṭ. ed. 53, 60 (v.1. ākhyānam for ākhyātam), Vaṅga. ed. 53, 60, Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara’s ed. 53, 60.

‘nandāpurāṇam’ for ‘nandipurāṇam’ in the second line⁴. This verse is also found quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, p. 21, *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18, and *Vīra-mitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*, p. 15; but in these three Smṛti-Nibandhas the text of the second line is given respectively as follows :

‘नन्दिपुराणं तल्लोके नन्दाख्यमिति कीर्त्यते,’⁵

‘नन्दिपुराणं तल्लोके नन्दाख्यमिति चोच्यते,’

‘नन्दापुराणं तल्लोके नन्दाख्यमिति कीर्त्यते’

It is obvious that the text of the second line of the above-mentioned verse, as preserved in the Smṛti-Nibandhas, is better than that found in the printed editions and in Aufrecht’s Ms of the *Matsya-p.* The *Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa* (I, 2, 81) of the *Skanda-p.*, on the other hand, describes the *Nandi-p.* as follows :

नन्दिने यत्र माहात्म्यं कार्तिकेयेन वर्यते ।

लोके नन्दिपुराणं वै ख्यातमेतद्भजोत्तमाः ॥

‘Oh best of the twice-born, (that Purāṇa), in which the glory is described by *Kārttikeya* to Nandin, is well-known as *Nandi-p.* on earth.’ In the *Devī-bhāgāvata* I, iii, 15 the twelfth Upapurāṇa is called ‘*Nandi-kṛta*,’ and there is no mention of any ‘*Nandi-p.*’ ‘*Nandī-p.*’ ‘*Nandā-p.*’ ‘*Nānda*’ or ‘*Skānda*’ in the *Devī-bhāgāvata*.

An examination of the texts of the above mentioned verses shows that the *Nandi-p.* was originally declared by *Kārttikeya* to Nandin⁶ (who, then, narrated it to some other person addressed as ‘king’ in some of the quoted

⁴ Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue* p. 40, No. 95.

⁵ This line, as quoted in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 533, reads ‘tallokair vyākhyātaṁ’ in place of ‘talloke nandākhyam’.

⁶ Cf. *Devī-bhāgāvata* I, iii, 15 in which the twelfth Upapurāṇa is called ‘*Nandi-kṛta*.’ In *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 917 two of the quoted verses are ascribed to a work called ‘*Nandi-prokta*,’ but this ‘*Nandi-prokta*’ Upapurāṇa may be the same as the *Śiva-dharma* which is called ‘*Nandi-prokta Śivadharmā*’ or ‘*Nandikeśvara-prokta Śivadharmā*’ in its chapter-colophons. (See H. P. Shastri, *Cat. of Sans. Mss*, ASB, V, pp. 718 and 723-8, Nos. 4084 and 4085 respectively).

verses,⁷ that it dealt primarily with the glorification of Nandā (or Nandī, i.e. Gaurī), and that it was also called 'Nandī-p.', and 'Nandā-p.'⁸

The *Nandī-p.* (or *Nandā-p.*), being originally declared by Kārttikeya, was also called 'Skānda.' In giving a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas the *Kūrma-p.*, the *Garuḍa-p.*, and the *Saura-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* name the third Upapurāṇa as 'Skānda' and describe it as follows:—

तृतीयं स्कान्दमुद्दिष्टं कूर्मेण तु भाषितम्⁹

'The third (Upapurāṇa) is called *Skānda*, and it was spoken out by Kumāra (i.e. Skanda).' That this '*Skānda*' Upapurāṇa is the same as the *Nandī-p.* (or *Nandā-p.*) is shown by the following facts: (1) the chief speaker in both these Upapurāṇas is Kārttikeya; (2) the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* and the *Vīra-mitrodaya* quote all the verses of the *Kūrma-p.* containing the list of Upapurāṇas but reads 'tṛtīyaṃ nāndam-uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitaṃ' for the above mentioned line of the *Kūrma-p.*¹⁰; (3) in the lists of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given in the *Parāśara-upapurāṇa*, *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda*, and the Śīva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the *Sūta-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.*, the third Upapurāṇa is named 'Nānda' (i.e. the Purāṇa on Nandā);¹¹ (4) '*Skānda*,

⁷ *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 40 (nrpa); *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 131 (rājan); *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III, i, p. 668 (viśānpate); and so on.

⁸ In *Viśva-kośa* (a Bengali encyclopædia) IX, p. 546 the *Nandī-p.* and the *Nandā-p.* have been regarded as different works.

⁹ *Kūrma-p.* I, i, 17b; *Garuḍa-p.* (Vcñkaṭ ed.) I, 223, 18a; Eggleing, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1382. All the printed editions of the *Kūrma-p.* read 'skāndaṃ'; but in Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition (I, 215, 18a) of the *Garuḍa-p.* the reading is wrongly given as 'skandaṃ.'

¹⁰ *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, p. 21, and *Vīra-mitrodaya*, Pari, bhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13. In the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 532, the erroneous reading 'nādaṃ' is found in place of 'nāndaṃ.'

¹¹ Eggleing, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1230. *Prasthāna-bheda* (ed. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam 1912), p. 10. Eggleing, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1378.

is the name for the third Upapurāṇa in some of the *Mss* of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the *Skānda-p.*, but 'Nānda' in the rest;¹² and (5) Narasiṃha Vājaṇṇeyin, who quotes *Kūrma-p.* I, i, 10 (anyānyupapurāṇāni, etc.) and then gives, in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19, the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas according to the list contained in the *Kūrma-p.*, names the third Upapurāṇa as 'Nandi-purāṇa' and not as 'Skānda'.

The *Nandi-p.* was also called '*Vāyavīya*.' In his *Malamāsa-tattva* Raghunandana quotes the line 'anyānyupapurāṇāni, etc.' with the mention of the *Kūrma-p.* as its source and then says that this line refers to the '*Narasimha-p.*, *Nandi-p.*, *Āditya-p.*, '*Kālikā-p.* etc.'¹³ Raghunandana then reproduces those lines of the *Kūrma-p.* which contain the list of the Upapurāṇas. According to the second of these quoted lines 'the third Upapurāṇa is the *Vāyavīya* spoken out by Kumāra'¹⁴, there being no mention of any '*Nandi-p.*, '*Nandā-p.*, *Nānda-p.* or '*Skānda-p.*', in any of these quoted lines. So, it is evident that according to Raghunandana the *Vāyavīya-upapurāṇa* (spoken out by Kumāra) and the *Nandi-p.* were the same. The mention of the '*Vāyavīya* narrated by Kumāra' as the third Upapurāṇa is also found in the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given from the *Kūrma-p.* in *Śabda-kalpadruma*, 119 (under 'Upapurāṇam').

¹² *Skānda-p.* VII, i, 2, 11b—*trītiyaṃ skādam* (v. 1 'nādam' in the Veṅkaṭ. and Vaṅga. editions) *uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇānu-bhāṣitam*.

¹³ *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 792-3—*kaurme*— 'anyānyupapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny-api tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikāpurāṇā dīnīti, yathā—ādyam sanatkumāroktam, etc.'

¹⁴ '*trītiyaṃ vāyavīyam ca kumāreṇa ca bhāṣitam*'—*Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 793. The Vaṅga. ed. of the *Malamāsa-tattva* (p. ?) reads 'kumāreṇābhībhāṣitam.' So also does Caṇḍicarāṇa *Smṛtibhūṣaṇa*'s edition (p. 213).

In the *Revā-māhātmya*,¹⁵ the third Upapurāṇa is named 'Nandā-p., and is connected with the *Viṣṇu-p.* thus :—

नन्दपुराणं च तथा तृतीयं वैष्णवे मतम्

But in the *Revā-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-p.*, which is practically the same as the *Revā-māhātmya* mentioned above, the above mentioned line occurs with the mention of the 'Śaukeya' as the third Upapurāṇa.¹⁶ So, it seems that the *Nandi-p.* was also sometimes called 'Śaukeya-p.'

Thus, the *Nandi-p.* was known under different titles, viz., *Nandi-p.*, *Nandī-p.*, *Nandā-p.*, *Nānda-p.*, *Skānda-p.*, *Vāyavīya-p.* and *Śaukeya-p.* For some of these titles we find clear reasons; viz, it was called *Nandi-p.*, because it was reproduced by Nandin; its title '*Skānda*', was due to its original narrator Skanda; and it was called *Nandā-p.*, *Nānda-p.* or *Nandī-p.*, as it dealt primarily with the praise of Nandā or Nandī (i.e. Gaurī). But we do not know how it came to be known as '*Vāyavīya*', and '*Śaukeya*' also. Whatever different titles our *Nandi-p.* might have had in early times, the Smṛti-writers refer to it very often as '*Nandi-p.*', and sometimes as '*Nandī-p.*'¹⁷

Numerous verses are found quoted from the '*Nandi-p.*', in Gadādhara's *Kālasāra*, Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Haribhaktivilāsa*, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācārapradīpa*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Govindānanda's *Dāna-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Sridatta's *Kṛtyācāra*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Vallālasena's *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*, and Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. Vallālasena, who was extremely cautious about the authenticity of the Purā-

¹⁵ Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65.

¹⁶ *Skanda-p.* V, iii (Revā-kh.), 1, 48b—śaukeyaṃ hi tṛtīyam tu purāṇe vaiṣṇave matam.

¹⁷ See *Ācāra-bhūṣana* (of Tryambaka), p. 183; *Smṛti-ratnahāra* (of Bṛhaspati Rāyamukṣa), fol. 56b (Shastri, *Cat. of Sans. Mss. ASB*, III, No. 2138, p. 228).

nas he used in his *Dāmasāgara*, utilised its contents without the least shade of doubt. Further, a 'Nanda-p.' is mentioned by Alberuni in that list of Purāṇas which he committed to writing from dictation.¹⁸ In his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa says that 'having heard the *Nandipurāṇa* from some pupil of Vyāsa the king (Jalauka) frequented Sodara and other (sacred springs) as vying (in holiness) with Nandīśa'.¹⁹ These evidences, as well as the facts that the *Nandi-p.*, as known from the quoted verses, was non-Tantric, and that its name is mentioned in the *Matsya-p.* and is found included in all the early lists of the eighteen Upapurāṇas, show definitely that *it was an early work and must have been written before 700 A.D.* As not even a single Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time, it is not possible to say anything definitely about the upper limit of its date. From an examination of the quoted verses, however, we feel inclined to take it as a work of the sixth or seventh century A.D. In one of the verses quoted from this Purāṇa in Govindānanda's *Varṣa-kaumudī* (p. 458) there is mention of the names of a few zodiacal signs, viz., Tulā, Makara and Meṣa.

It has already been said that the Revā-māhātmya and the Kevākhaṇḍa of the *Skanda-p.* connect the *Nandi-p.* with the *Viṣṇu-p.* as a part of the latter and are thus inclined to regard it as a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. This Vaiṣṇava character of the *Nandi-p.* is supported by a verse which has been quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' in the *Nityācāra-pradīpa* and in which Kṛṣṇa appears as an object of worship.²⁰ There

¹⁸ Sachau, *Alberuni's India* I, p. 130. That this 'Nanda-p.' was the same as the 'Nandi-p.' is shown definitely by Alberuni himself when he says "Nanda-p. i.e. a servant of Mahādeva."

¹⁹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I, 123.

श्रुतनन्दिपुराणः स व्यासात्तेवासिनो नृपः ।

सैवर्न सोदरादीनां नन्दीशस्पर्धया व्यधात् ॥

²⁰

न शल्लकाज्येन तृणं न सिक्थवसा सम्भूतम् ।

धूपं प्रत्यङ्गनिर्मुक्तं दद्यात् कृष्णाय बुद्धिसान् ॥

(Quoted in the *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 647.)

is another verse, quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa* (p. 677) which says that sinners may attain the highest abode of Viṣṇu by singing his name.²¹ But this last-mentioned verse must not be taken seriously, because there are other quoted verses in which the regions of Brahmā, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati and others have been mentioned as places capable of being attained by certain pious acts.²² On the other hand, Nara-siṃha Vājapeyin calls the '*Nandi-p.*', a part of the *Skanda-p.*²³ which is pre-eminently a Śaiva work. More detailed information in this direction is furnished by Kalhaṇa when he says that after hearing the *Nandi-purāṇa* from a pupil of Vyāsa, king Jalauka frequented Sodara and other holy springs with a view to be equal with Nandiśa. We know that Nandiśa (or Nandikeśa) was an attendant of Śiva; and Sodara (in Kashmir) has been shown by Stein to have been situated in close proximity to the temple-ruins of Bhūteśvara,²⁴ which is a Śaiva Tīrtha. Hence, it is clear that according to Kalhaṇa the *Nandi-p.* was a Śaiva work; otherwise, it could not be said to make the king so much zealous in his devotion to Śiva. The Śaiva character of the *Nandi-p.* is also shown by a large number of quoted verses in which Śiva (also called Śarva, Rudra, Śaṅkara, etc.) is regarded as the object of worship,²⁵ the Liṅga-worship is prescribed,²⁶

²¹ sarvadā sarva-kāleṣu ye' pi kurvanti pātakam |
nāma-śaṅkīrtanam kṛtvā yānti viṣṇoḥ param padam ||

(*Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 677).

²² See, for instance, the verses quoted from the '*Nandi-p.*, in Aparārka's com. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 366; *Dānasāgara*, fols. 118b, 131a, 169a, 180b, etc.; and so on.

²³ *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18-mātsye- nandāyā yatra māt-
myam kārttikeyena varṇyate | nandipurāṇam talloke nandākhyamiti
cocyate | tacca skāndaikadeśaḥ ||

²⁴ M.A. Stein, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*, I, pp. 20-21 and 23-24
notes on verses 107 and 123 of Chap. I.

²⁵ For such verses see *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 685-6; *Dānasā-
gara*, fols. 131a, 196b, 197a, 198b, etc; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 907,
957; and so on.

²⁶ *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 129; *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 685-6.

the sectarian Mantra 'om namaḥ Śivāya' is praised,²⁷ and the Śiva-worshippers are given preference to other sectaries.²⁸ In his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (III, ii, p. 691) Hemādri quotes from the '*Nandi-p.*' an extract in which Īśvara (i.e. Śiva) speaks on the result of avoiding meat; and in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* Vallālasena quotes from the same Purāṇa seven metrical lines on Śiva's burning of Tripura.²⁹ So, the Śaiva character of the *Nandi-p.* is unmistakable. But as we have already seen that the *Matsya-p.* describes the *Nandi-p.* as a work dealing with the praise of Nandā, it seems that the *Nandi-p.*, like the earlier *Linga-p.*, was originally a Śaiva work in which both Śiva and his Śakti (i.e. Nandā) were praised. Or, it may be that it originally dealt with the praise of Nandā but was later on utilised by the Śiva-worshippers for spreading their ideas. Its Vaiṣṇava character was most probably the last stage in its change.

The *Nandi-p.* must not be taken to be the same as the *Nandikeśvara-p.* (also called *Nandiśvara-p.*).³⁰ The distinct character of these two Purāṇic works is shown by the following facts :—(1) in the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given by Raghunandana in his *Malamāsa-tattva* there is mention of a '*Vāyaviya Upapurāṇa*' (which we have already found to be the same as the *Nandi-p.*) and the '*Nandikeśvara-yugma*' (i.e. the two *Nandikeśvara-purāṇas*, which the commentator Kāśīrāma Vācaspati takes to mean the '*Brhannandikeśvara-p.*' and the '*Nandikeśvara-p.*³¹); (2) The *Śabda-kalpadruma* quotes from the '*Kūrma-p.*' a few verses on the

²⁷ *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 130-1.

²⁸ Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, p. 399; *Dānasāgara*, fol. 198b.

²⁹ *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 485.

³⁰ In *Viśvakoṣa* IX, pp. 547 and 549 the *Nandi-p.* has been wrongly identified with the *Nandiśvara-p.* or *Nandikeśvara-p.*

³¹ *Malamāsa-tattva* (ed. Candīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's commentary), p. 213. *nandikeśvara-yugmaṁ brhannandikeśvarapurāṇaṁ nandikeśvarapurāṇaṁ ca.*

list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas which includes the 'Vāyavya' and the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma'³²; (3) the *Caturvarga-cintāmani*, Vrata-khaṇḍa, gives from the *Kṛma-p.* a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas in which the third Upapurāṇa is the 'Nānda,' but the fourth is named 'Siva-dharma' in some *Mss* and as 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' in others;³³ (4) the same Smṛti-writers are found to draw upon both the *Nandi-p.* and the *Nandikeśvara-p.*, but there is not a single verse which has been ascribed by any one of them to the *Nandi-p.* in one place of their work and to the *Nandikeśvara-p.* in another, nor is there a second instance in which the same verse has been ascribed to the *Nandi-p.* by one writer and to the *Nandikeśvara-p.* by another. It is only in Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka* (p. 8) that the verse 'ṛkṣa-yogānurodhena,' really belonging to the *Nandikeśvara-p.*, has been ascribed to the 'Nandi-p., That Śūlapāṇi's ascription of this verse to the *Nandi-p.* is wrong is shown by the facts that this verse occurs only in some of the *Mss* on which the printed edition of the *Durgotsava-viveka* is based, and that the verse 'bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi,' which belongs to the group of those eight verses (including the above mentioned verse 'ṛkṣa-yogānurodhen') which are found quoted as 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in Raghunandana's *Durgāpūjā-tattva* (pp. 2-3) is ascribed to the *Nandikeśvara-p.* by Śūlapāṇi himself in his *Durgotsava-viveka* (p. 9) and *Vāsantī-viveka* (p. 28). A similar instance of wrong ascription is found in the ASB edition of the *Dāna-kaumudī* (p. 46) in which there is a verse³⁴ which is ascribed to the 'Nandikeśvara-p.' in only one *Ms* and to the 'Nandi-p.' in the rest. But this difference in ascription is simply due to

³² See ABORI, XXI, p. 43, foot-note 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 43, foot-note 1.

³⁴ *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 46- nandipurāṇe (v. 1. 'nandikeśvara-purāṇe' in *Ms* ॐ) tṛṣṇārta-jala-dāne--

yo'pi kaścit tṛṣṇārtāya jala-dānam prayacchati ।

sa nitya-tṛpto vasati svarge yugaśatam nṛpa ॥

a scribal mistake, because this verse is found quoted in many other Nibandhas with the mention of only the ' *Nandi-p.*' as the source.³⁵

It has already been said that not a single *Ms* of the *Nandi-p.* has been found as yet. So, we do not know exactly what its contents were. We shall, however, try to give an idea of its *Smṛti* contents from an examination of those of its verses which are found quoted in the *Smṛti-Nibandhas*.

Regarding the *Ādya-p.*, *Sāmba-p.*, *Kālikā-p.*, *Nandi-p.*, *Āditya-p.*, *Narasimha-p.*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, etc., Vallālasena says in his *Dānasāgara* that these works dealt prominently with donations.³⁶ As a matter of fact, the great majority of the verses quoted from the *Nandi-p.* in the commentaries and Nibandhas deal with various topics on gifts; viz., praise of donations;³⁷ results of following the right procedure in making donations;³⁸ bad effects of making gifts to an unworthy person;³⁹ benefits of giving water (to a thirsty person for drinking, or to a Brahmin for washing his feet), horse, elephant, chariot, cows which are well-decorated or are in the course of delivery (the best recipients of such cows being the spiritually developed persons, the Agnihottrins and the deities), well-furnished house, clothes, umbrella, turban (uṣṇīṣa), shoes (especially to a Brahmin going on a journey), collyrium (to the eyes of a Brahmin),

³⁵ See *Kālasāra*, p. 584; *Dānasāgara*, fol. 144; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 989; and so on.

³⁶ kūrmapurāṇādipruṇayoḥ ।

ūktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca ॥

ādyam purāṇam śāmbam ca kālikāhvayam eva ca ।

nandim āditya-saṃjñam ca nārasimham tathaiva ca ॥

Dānasāgara, fol. 2a.

³⁷ *Dānasāgara*, fol. 6a; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 5, 49; Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, p. 406.

³⁸ *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 102.

³⁹ Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, p. 296; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 102, 450.

stick (to an old man), ornaments, sacred thread, coins called Suvarṇa as Dakṣiṇā (a Suvarṇa being said to be equivalent to 16 Māṣas), land (which is productive or is shining with crops such as sugarcane, wheat, barley, etc.), food (to all without distinction of castes, except in śrāddha ceremonies), drink (pānaka, prepared with water mixed with molasses), milk, ghee, curd, molasses, fruit-bearing trees, orchards, gardens, pleasure-gardens, etc.⁴⁰ It is needless to say that, except in a very few cases, the recipients of these gifts are only the Brahmins.

More interesting is the topic on Vidyā-dāna, on which about 300 metrical lines are found quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Vallālasena's *Dāna-sāgara*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, and Govindānanda's *Dāna-kaumudī*.⁴¹ According to these verses, there are fourteen kinds of Vidyās, viz., the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Mīmāṃsā and Tarka (Logic). Besides these, there are other secondary sciences which have grown out of the principal Vidyās mentioned above, viz., Āyurveda (medical science), Sasya-veda (science of agriculture), Kalā-vidyā, Śilpa-vidyā, etc. All these sciences (including Sasyavidyā) have been highly praised; and though the benefits of teaching these Vidyās as well as Ślokas, Prahelikās, Gāthās, etc., to worthy students and of giving books on these sciences

⁴⁰ Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 296, 379, 406; *Dānasāgara*, fols. 118a, 118b, 133b, 138a, 138b, 143b, 144a-b, 149b-150a, 152a-b, 158a, 158b, 159b, 160a, 162b, 169a, 170b, 171a, 171b, 172b, 180b, 184b, 210a, 211a, 221b, 224a, 225a, 226b, 228a, 281a-b, 285a, 285b; *Kṛtyācāra*, fol. 70a; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 456, 477, 507, 571-2, 892, 904, 907, 909-910; 957, 960, 984, 984-5, 989, 1041, 1050; *Dānakaumudī*, pp. 46, 83; *Kālasāra*, p. 584; *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 502, 503, II, pp. 366, 628; *Haribhaktivilāsa*, pp. 316, 317; and so on.

⁴¹ Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 396-403; *Dānasāgara*, fols. 195b-201a; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 511, 513-6, 526, 526-7, 547-556, 559, 561; *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 347, 348, 502, 503, 656, 657, 658, II, pp. 362, 588; *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 67.

(including *Sasya-vidyā*) to gods or worthy Brahmin recipients have been described elaborately, greater importance has been attached to donation of books on *Ātma-vidyā* (i.e. philosophical treatises), *Paurāṇī Vidyā* (i.e. *Purāṇas*) and *Dharmaśāstrātmikā Vidyā* (i.e. *Dharmaśāstras*). The whole procedure of copying and giving books, which has been elaborately described in these verses, consists mainly of the following operations:—the donor's selection of an able scribe (whose qualifications have been given in some of the verses) as well as of an auspicious day ; preparation of ink of different colours ; preparation of pens ; construction, in the prescribed manner, of a *Sarapatra* (also called *Vidyādhara*, i.e. a stool, on which a book to be copied is placed) with gold, silver, ivory or durable wood ; collection of leaves (*patra*) required for the *Ms* and furnishing their margins with lines drawn in black and red ink ; construction of wooden covers for the *Ms* and furnishing the outer sides of these covers with ornamental paintings ; decoration of the house in which the copying is to be made ; honour to be shown to the scribe by presenting to him money, ornaments, etc., before he begins his work ; furnishing the scribe with knife and other requisites ; the scribe's ceremonious beginning, with the sound of musical instruments, of his work of copying in the appointed house on an auspicious day after duly performing *Puṇyāha-vācana* and *Svasti-vācana* and worshipping *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* ; feeding of Brahmins at the completion of the work of copying ; comparison of copied *Ms* with its original, and making necessary corrections in it ; furnishing this new *Ms* with covers of wood and cloth ; taking this *Ms* with pomp and ceremony to a temple of *Śiva*, and dedicating it to the deity ; appointment of qualified Brahmin readers (*vācaka*, *Pāṭhaka*, whose qualifications have been mentioned in a number of verses) for reading out the *Ms* and explaining its contents to the audience, the

language used in explaining being Sanskrit or Prakrit according to the language of the book ; presents to be made to the readers and to the donor's teacher, who is to attend the function ; decorations and merri-makings in towns and villages on this occasion. If the *Mr* is to be given to some worthy Brahmin, it should be taken to his house in the above mentioned manner and formally given to him. One may also acquire the merits of Vidyā-dāna by building a house, inviting a learned teacher there, honouring him with wealth, raiments, etc., and making him teach a number of students. •

Equally interesting are the 25 metrical lines, quoted by Aparārka, Vallālasena and Hemādri⁴², on the praise of foundation of hospitals (ārogya-śālā) for the suffering humanity and the poor. According to these lines, such hospitals should be furnished with qualified and experienced physicians and powerful medicines, and food, honey, ghee, etc., should be supplied to the patients free of cost.

There is also a large number of verses on the benefits of the following acts :—digging of tanks and wells, and their dedication to a Brahmin or a deity, or for public use ;⁴³ giving food to cows ;⁴⁴ feeding a Brahmin who is visiting holy places ;⁴⁵ avoiding meat in the month of Kārttika and under different Rāsis, viz., Tulā, Makara and Meṣa ;⁴⁶ worshipping an earthen Śiva-līṅga ;⁴⁷ offering incense and flowers to gods and Brahmins ;⁴⁸ furnishing temples and

⁴² See Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 365-6; *Dānasāgara*, fols. 230b-231b ; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 892-4.

⁴³ Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 408-9 ; *Smṛti-tattva* II, pp. 514, 516 ; *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 164 ; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 1002, 1004-5.

⁴⁴ *Dānasāgara*, fol. 131a.

• ⁴⁵ *Dānasāgara*, fol. 152 a-b.

⁴⁶ *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 458 ; *Kālasāra*, p. 26.

⁴⁷ *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 129. •

⁴⁸ *Dānasāgara*, fols. 165a, 166b ; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 922.

houses of Brahmins with lamps⁴⁹; muttering the six-syllabled Mantra 'om namaḥ śivāya' and using it in worship, donations, etc.;⁵⁰ curing a person of his disease with the help of one's knowledge of Āyurveda;⁵¹ assuring safety to a person distressed with fear;⁵² offering incense to Kṛṣṇa, gold to a Śiva-liṅga, and Madhuparka to Śiva;⁵³ shampooing the feet of a tired Brahmin traveller, and offering to him ointments for use on his feet;⁵⁴ singing the names of Viṣṇu;⁵⁵ and so on.

In the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III (Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa) a large number of verses has been quoted from the *Nandī-p.* on the various topics connected with Śrāddha; viz., classification of Pitṛs; mention of the different classes of Pitṛs whose satisfaction is created by the worship of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva; determination of proper time for the performance of funeral ceremonies; persons who deserve to be invited and fed in a funeral ceremony; enumeration of the various objects to be given to Brahmins in a funeral ceremony, viz., gold, silver, ornaments of various kinds (such as armlets, necklace, earrings, waist-bands, anklets, bracelets, etc.) all set with gems), foot-wears (pādukā), palanquins, vehicles, various kinds of food, clothes, fans, umbrellas, scents and other articles for toileting, cows, buffaloes, young elephants, bulls, etc.; praise of giving gold coins (called Suvarṇa) and silver as Dakṣiṇā; origin of silver from the drop of tear fallen from one of the unblinking eyes of Śiva when he was looking at Tripura with the intention of destroying it; and

⁴⁹ *Dānasāgara*, fols. 190a, 190b; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 941.

⁵⁰ *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 130-1.

⁵¹ *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 678.

⁵² Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, p. 385; *Dānasāgara*, fols. 232a, 232a-b; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 946.

⁵³ *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 647, 685-6.

⁵⁴ *Dānasāgara*, fol. 163a; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 956,

⁵⁵ *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 677.

so on. In his *Parāśara-bhāṣya* (II, ii, p. 242) Mādhavācārya quotes from the *Nandi-p.* seventeen metrical lines on the innumerable rebirths (first as shrubs, plants, etc., and next as various lower animals and members of lower castes) which a murderer of a Brahmin has to pass through after residence in hells for Kalpas, before he is born as a Brahmin. That the *Nandi-p.* contained the story of Śiva's burning of the city called Tripura is shown not only by the above mentioned account of the origin of silver but also by the seven metrical lines, quoted in Vallālasena's *Adbhutasāgara* (p. 485) on the omens foreboding the destruction of Tripura.

In some of the quoted verses Śiva speaks most probably to a king (who is addressed as 'viśāmpate' and 'vatsa' in some other verses)⁵⁶.

The *Nandi-p.* seems to have been a non-Bengal work. The crops mentioned in connexion with Bhūmi-dāna exclude rice.⁵⁷

APPENDIX

The *Nandi-p.* has been drawn upon in the following works :

(1) Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 296, 365-366, 379, 385, 396-403, 406, 408-409.

(2) *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 485.

(3) *Dānasāgara*, fols. 6a, 118a, 118b, 131a, 118a(?), 133b, 138a, 138b, 143b, 144a-b, 149b-150a, 152a-b, 152b, 156a, 158a, 158b, 159b, 160a, 162b, 163a, 165a, 166b, 169a, 170b, 171a, 171b, 172b, 180b, 184b, 190a, 190b, 195b-201a, 210a, 211a, 221b, 224a, 225a, 226b, 228a, 230b-231a, 232a, 232a-b, 232b, 281a-b, 285a, 285b.

(4) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 5, 49, 102, 450, 456, 477, 507, 511, 513-516, 526, 526-7, 547-556, 559, 561, 571, 571-2, 892, 892-4, 904, 907, 909-910, 922, 923, 941, 946, 956, 957, 960, 984, 984-5, 989, 1002, 1004-5, 1041, 1050, 917 (?); III, i, pp. 45, 64, 79, 153, 221, 389,

⁵⁶ See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 571-2, III, i, pp. 45, 64 and 668, and III, ii, p. 691.

⁵⁷ See the verses of the *Nandi-p.* in *Dānasāgara*, fols. 138a and 138b.

389-390, 476, 657, 658, 667, 668, 682, 706, 721-2, 738-9, 889, 933, 1100; III, ii, pp. 26, 691.

(5) *Kṛtyācāra*, fol. 70a.

(6) *Parāśara-bhāṣya* (of Mādhavācārya) II, ii, p. 242.

(7) Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 8 (?).

(8) *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 46, 67, 83, 164.

(9) *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 458.

(10) *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 129, 130-1, 347, 348, 502, 503, 656, 657, 658, 678; II, pp. 362, 366, 514, 516, 588, 628.

(11) *Kālasāra*, pp. 26, 584.

(12) *Haribhaktivilāsa*, pp. 316, 317, 677.

(13) *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 647, 685-6.

THE CONCEPTION AND NUMBER OF PRAMĀÑAS ACCORDING TO VṚTTIKĀRA UPAVARṢA

By V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

(Continued from page 242)

or (3) “ज्ञातः सम्बन्धः ययोः”—both the probans and the probandum, the mutual relation of which is already known. If it be taken as a karmadhāraya, it means the sambandha itself which is already known. The word “एकदेश” in the definition would mean the probans and the probandum. The *Vārttika* says :

“प्रमाता ज्ञातसम्बन्ध एकदेश्ययवोच्यते ।
कर्मधारयपक्षो वा सम्बन्धिन्येकदेशता ॥
द्वयं वा ज्ञातसम्बन्धमुपलब्धं परस्परम् ।
तस्यैकदेशशब्दाभ्यामुच्येते समुदायिनी ॥”

The import of the word Sambandha : The word sambandha in the compound “ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य” is explained thus :— “सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिष्टावलङ्गघर्मस्य लिङ्गिनः” the invariable concomitance of the liṅga and the liṅgin when the relation is thus spoken of, the related objects are also spoken of as vyāpya—the probans—and the vyāpaka—the probandum. The vyāpya is one which exists either in all cases of the vyāpaka or in some only, while the vyāpaka exists in all cases of the vyāpya.

“व्याप्यस्य गमकत्वं च व्यापकं गम्यमिष्यते ।
यो यस्य देशकालाभ्यां समो न्यूनोऽपि वा भवेत् ॥
तेन व्याप्ये गृहीतेऽर्थे व्यापकस्तस्य गृह्यते ।
न ह्यन्यथा भवत्येषा व्याप्यव्यापकता तयोः ॥”

of the two, the vyāpya is the gamaka—the chief means of inferential knowledge and the vyāpaka is the gamya—the object inferred.

“व्याप्यांशो व्यापकांशस्य तथैव प्रतिपादकः”

Bhūyodarśana—a means of *vyāptijñāna*: The knowledge of *vyāpti* or the invariable concomitance which is the chief property of the *vyāpya* “व्याप्तिविशिष्ट” is the result of *bhūyodarśana*—the experience of the probans and the probandum in many instances in different times and places. It is possible to experience the *vyāpti* of the two properties of a general character — “सामान्यधर्म” —or between two concrete objects. The experience of the *vyāpti* between the “धूमाकृति” and “अग्न्याकृति” is that between two general properties while the *vyāpti* between the rise of *Kṛttikā* in the horizon and that of *Rohiṇī* in succession to it is that between two concrete instances;

“भूयो दर्शनगम्या च व्याप्तिः सामान्यधर्मयोः ।

ज्ञायते भेदहानेन काचिच्चापि विशेषयोः ।

कृत्तिकोदयमालक्ष्य रोहिण्यासत्तिकलुप्तवत् ॥”¹

This *vyāpti* has to be ascertained carefully. Only certain hetus (probans) possess it while others do not. For example, some mistake that all instances of *himsā* are instances of *adharmā*; in other words, *himsā*tva has *vyāpti* with *adharmitva*. The Vedic passage “न हि स्यात् सर्वा भूतानि” prohibits certain *himsās* which are practised for selfish ends and those selfish *himsās* are no doubt *adharmitas*. But the *himsā* enjoined like the “अग्नीषोम्यहिंसा” as accessories to *Jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice cannot be called *anarthas*. So what is prohibited by *Śāstra* is *anartha*; that is *niṣiddhatva* has *vyāpti* with *anarthatva*. In this connection the *Vārttikakāra* explains many fallacies associated with *hetus* (probans) and other parts of the syllogism.

The purport of the word असन्निकृष्टे: : The purport of the word “असन्निकृष्टे” in the definition is explained by *Vārttika* thus :

¹ Vide, *Śloka-vārttika*, verses 12 and 13.

“असन्निकृष्टवाचा च द्वयमत्र जिहासितम् ।
 ताद्रूप्येण गृहीतत्वं तद्विपर्ययतोऽपि च” ॥
 “प्रमितस्य प्रमाणे हि नापेक्षा ज्ञायते पुनः ।
 ताद्रूप्येण परिच्छिन्ने प्रमाणं निष्फलं परम् ॥
 वैपरीत्यपरिच्छिन्ने नावकाशः परस्य तु ।” २

What is already cognised cannot be the object of inferential knowledge since it is presumed that all pramānas work for the advancement of knowledge. Again the inferential knowledge cannot present an object when its absence has already been established. Hence the term “असन्निकृष्ट” is taken in the sense of ‘non-determined’—in the form in which the object is to be inferred. An inference, for example, of fire by smoke, if it had been previously determined as existing in the pakṣa will be a restatement “अनुवादः” of what had been already known, and it will be invalid if fire had already been determined as non-existing in the pakṣa.

The division of Anumāna with illustrations :

The *Bhāṣya* text :—“तत् द्विविधम्—प्रत्यक्षतो दृष्टसम्बन्धं सामान्यतो दृष्टसम्बन्धं च । तत्र प्रत्यक्षतो दृष्टसम्बन्धं यथा—धूमाकृतिदर्शनादग्न्याकृतिविज्ञानम् । सामान्यतो दृष्टसम्बन्धं यथा—देवदत्तस्य गतिपूर्विकां देशान्तरप्राप्तिमुपलभ्यादित्येऽपि गतिस्मरणम्” १³ gives two kinds of inference with illustrations. The former “प्रत्यक्षतो दृष्टसम्बन्ध” is explained by Vārttikakāra as the inference of one particular from another particular—where the invariable concomitance of the two particulars is known—taking the ‘word pratyakṣa’ in the sense of viśeṣa (particular), in contrast with sāmānya (generality) in the latter.

“प्रत्यक्षदृष्टसम्बन्धं ययोरेव विशेषयोः ।
 गोमयेन्धनतज्जन्यविशेषादिमतिः कृता ॥
 तद्देशस्थेन तेनैव गत्वा कालान्तरेऽपि तम् ॥
 यदाग्निर्बुध्यते तस्य पूर्वबोधात् पुनः पुनः ।
 सन्दिह्यमानसद्भाववस्तुबोधात् प्रमाणता ॥” ३

¹ *Ibid.*, verses 55 and 57.

² *Ibid.*, verses 141 and 14

This kind of inference of a particular is acceptable to Vindhyavāsin, who is identified by some with Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikās* ;

“विशेष्यदृष्टमेतच्च लिखितं विन्ध्यवासिना ।” ⁴

The term ākṛti in the *Bhāṣya* is to be taken in the sense of special generalities like “गोमयेन्धनधूमत्व” and “गोमयेन्धनाग्नित्व”, so that there may not be overlapping as between the two. So observes the Vārttikakāra :

“आकृत्योरिव चैवेष्टा व्यवच्छेदेन केनचित् ।

हेतुसाध्यव्यवस्थेति विशेषो नोपदिशतः ॥” ⁵

The second variety is illustrated thus in the *Bhāṣya* : “देवदत्तस्य गतिपूर्विकां देशान्तरप्राप्तिमुपलभ्यादित्यगतिस्मरणम् ॥” when we see that Devadatta moves from one place and reaches another we suppose that all the gatis (movements) lead to some destination ; “यत्र यत्र गत्याकृतिः तत्र तत्र प्राप्त्याकृतिः यथा देवदत्ते ।” On the basis of this “सामान्यव्याप्ति” we infer that the sun moves from one place to another since his presence is seen in different places.

The meaning of the word ‘Arthe.’ The word ‘arthe’ in the definition of the anumāna will have been fully explained if it is taken in the sense of an object that has objective reality. The very fact that the inferential knowledge presents an object of reality proves that according to the Mīmāṃsakas, sāmānya (generality) is a vastu—object which is perceptible—त्यक्षम्. But the Bauddhas do not accept sāmānya as an object of reality. Thus observes the Vārttikakāra :

“प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वं च सामान्यस्य प्रसाधितम् ।

वस्तुत्वं चात्र हेतुर्वा द्वयस्याप्यभिधीयते ॥

धूमादग्न्यनुमानस्य वस्त्वालम्बनता भवेत् ।

अभावस्य प्रमाणत्वात् स्वार्थे श्रोत्रादिबुद्धिवत् ॥

⁴ *Ibid.*, verse 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, verse 144.

सामान्यस्य च वस्तुत्वं प्रत्यक्षग्राह्यतापि च ।
अभावान्यप्रमेयत्वादसाधारणवस्तुवत् ॥” ६

All pramāṇas except non-apprehension— “अनुपलब्धि” generate cognitions that present objects of reality ; so the anumāna-pramāṇa which is distinct from anupalabdhi generates the cognition of the probandum which may be a generality (सामान्यम्) or some other category.

The Vārttikakāra concludes the anumāna section with the important observation that all objects, either generalities or other, are to be accepted as they are experienced. A generality like gotva can be considered asādhāraṇa—more particular—than the generality sattva. But nobody could conceal the existence of sattva when he talks of the particular feature of the other generality gotva. The conceptions of sattva and gotva as “महासामान्य” and “असाधारणसामान्य” are relative and it is possible to speak of these generalities in such terms as they are universally experienced :

“तस्माद् यद्गृह्यते वस्तु येन रूपेण सर्वदा ।
तत्तथैवाभ्युपेतव्यं सामान्यमथवेतरत् ॥
सत्तादिसामान्यमपेक्ष्य सर्वं गोत्वाद्यसाधारणतामुपैति ।
तस्मादसाधारणमक्षगम्यं वदन्न सामान्यमपह्नुवीत ॥
सामान्यरूपेण न गृह्यते चेत् किं वास्त्वसाधारणबुद्धिरत्र ।
यद्वस्तु लोकः प्रतिपद्यतेऽस्मिन् द्विधापि तच्छक्यत एव वक्तुम् ॥” ७

Śabda and the propriety of its placement after Pratyakṣa and Anumāna

After anumāna, śabdapramāṇa is defined by the Vārttikakāra. The importance of śabda as a pramāṇa is greater than upamāna, arthāpatti or anupalabdhi. The Sāṅkhyas who do not accept upamāna recognise śabda as a separate pramāṇa under which Śāstra the self-revelatory śabdās, viz.,

६ *Ibid.*, verses 146—148.

७ *Ibid.*, verses 186—188.

the Vedas, are taken as infallible authority on supernormal dharma and mokṣa. Pratyakṣa is first defined since pratyakṣa, the first and foremost of all 'ज्येष्ठप्रमाणम्' is accepted by all schools of thought including the materialist Lokāyatikas who do not recognise any other pramāṇa. Anumāna is then taken up in view of the fact that the Vaiśeṣikas and the Bauddhas accept two pramāṇas only, viz., pratyakṣa and anumāna, and that anumāna is dealt with immediately after pratyakṣa in most of the works dealing with pramāṇas ; hence the propriety of defining Śāstra (śabda-pramāṇa) as the third important means of knowledge. Since the Naiyāyikas and many others accept upamāna as an important source of knowledge it is defined after śabda. Pārāśarya (who may be identified with Vyāsa?), whom, as Sūcarita Miśra observes, Kṛtakoti follows, speaks of arthāpatti as the fifth pramāṇa. And abhāva is given at the end since it works only in the absence of all other bhāva-pramāṇas.

The definition of śabda applicable to one variety only--
Śāstra: The definition of śabda as given by the *Bhāṣya* runs thus : "शास्त्रं शब्दविज्ञानादसन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे विज्ञानम्" Śāstra produces a cognition presenting an object having no contact with the sensory organs on the basis of the cognition of śabda. This definition evidently refers to Śāstra the Vedic passages that enjoin or prohibit certain things, producing good or evil for the performer. It is asked : "Why has the Vṛttikāra or Bhāṣyakāra defined the particular śabdapramāṇa viz., 'codanā,' without defining the general śabda, both laukika and vaidika, especially when he has given the general definitions of all other pramāṇas ?" The answer is simple. According to Upavarṣa, the nature and function of all pramāṇas are well-known and as such, need not be investigated. They are however given here, as understood by all śāstra-kāras, for our correct guidance. In Pūrvamīmāṃsāśāstra investigating the nature of dharma, the particular śabda, viz., codanā, with all its supplementary portions, is consi-

dered the only pramāṇa on dharma and so it is defined, and it is easy to understand the general definition of śabdapramāṇa from that of the particular śabda, viz., Śāstra.

The Utility of other Pramāṇas in relation to Śāstra : Even pratyakṣa, anumāna and other pramāṇas are defined here with the purpose that these pramāṇas help in some way or other the Vedic student in understanding the nature and function of the Śāstra, viz., the vedic texts. The pratyakṣa-pramāṇa helps him to discern the nature of varṇa, pada, mātṛā and other details of the vedic texts that he studies under an Ācārya. The utility of anumānapramāṇa is explained by the fact that the vedic student 'infers in instances like "देवस्य त्वेति निर्वपति" the remaining portions of the mantra beginning with "देवस्य त्वा". So also arthāpatti would help him in tracing the passages in instances where complete vākyas are not found in the vedic texts. Upamāna is helpful to trace the relation between prakṛti and vikṛti sacrifices. Even abhāvapramāṇa guides him in the interpretation of avyaktacodanās which enjoin sacrifices without dravya and devatā. As the word Śāstra means only the vedic injunctions, so the words 'शब्दविज्ञानम्' and 'अर्थविज्ञानम्' in the body of the definition mean only the knowledge for 'विनायकशब्द' and 'विशेषार्थ' respectively. The word Śāstra not only means the vedic texts but (by yogarūḍhi) all writings that instruct mankind in the means of attaining the human values, dharma and mokṣa. The important vedāṅga, the Vyākaraṇaśāstra, for example, explains the correct formation of words with their correct usage and prescribes it for the attainment of abhyudaya. The Mīmāṃsā-śāstra interprets the Vedic texts by enunciating many rules for the correct understanding of the Vedic sacrifices which, if performed properly, produce abhyudaya for the performer. So these systems can also be called Śāstra. The Vārttika text runs :

“अपरीक्षामिषेणापि लक्षणानि वदन्नयम् ।
 न स्वतन्त्रोपयोगित्वनिरपेक्षाणि जल्पति ॥
 तत्र यल्लोकवाक्यस्थं कथयेच्छब्दलक्षणम् ।
 वेदं व्याख्यातुकामस्य तन्नातीवोपयुज्यते ॥
 प्रत्यक्षाद्युपयोगं तु वर्णमात्रादितः पुरः ।
 शास्त्रार्थज्ञानवेलायां मत्वा तल्लक्षणं कृतम् ॥
 यत्तु गामानयेत्यादिवाक्यस्थं शब्दलक्षणम् ।
 तस्य नेहोपयोगोऽस्ति तस्माच्छास्त्रगतं कृतम् ॥
 विशेषश्च न सामान्यमन्तरेणास्ति कश्चन ।
 तस्मात्तमप्युदाहृत्य सामान्यं लक्षयेत् सुखम् ॥
 सामान्यरूपमप्येतदधिकारादि शिष्यते ।
 चोदना चोपदेशश्च शास्त्रमेवेत्युदाहृतम् ॥
 यथा च चोदनाशब्दो वैदिक्यामेव वर्तते ।
 शब्दज्ञानार्थविज्ञानशब्दौ शास्त्रे तथा स्थितौ ॥
 प्रत्यक्षाद्यपरीक्षत्वे तदन्तर्भावहेतुकम् ।
 शास्त्रस्याप्यपरीक्षत्वमनयैव धियोदितम् ॥”⁸

Upamāna

After the śabdapramāṇa, Upamāna is defined thus :
 “उपमानमपि सादृश्यमसन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे बद्धिमुत्पादयति—यथा गवयदर्शनं गोस्मरणस्य”
 Upamāna is similarity (experienced in the object) generating a cognition (of the same) in another which has no contact with the senses. This definition has been fully explained in the *Kāśikā* : “एकत्र दृश्यमानं सादृश्यं प्रतियोग्यन्तरे दृश्यमान-प्रतियोगि-सादृश्यविशिष्टतया असन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे या बद्धिमुत्पादयति एतत्सादृश्यविशिष्टो-ऽभाविति सोपमानमिति यन्नदोरध्याहारः ॥”

The illustrative passage “गवयदर्शनं गोस्मरणस्य” is to be interpreted as follows : the compound “गवयदर्शनम्” is a bahuvrīhi—“गवयो दर्शनं अस्य (सादृश्यस्य)”. The word “दर्शनम्” is to be interpreted as ‘दृश्यते अस्मिन्निति’—that in which (sādrśya) is experienced in gavaya—‘गवये दृश्यमानं सादृश्यम्’. The compound ‘गोस्मरणस्य’ means the pramātā who ‘recollects the cow ‘गो स्मरतः’. The word ‘स्मरणम्’ is to be

⁸ *Ibid*, I, 1, 5, *Śābda*, verses 7—14.

taken in the sense of the agent—the pramātā who recollects. So the total sense will be —‘गवये दृश्यमानं सादृश्य एतत्सदृशं गारिति बुद्धिमुत्पादयति’ the similarity experienced in gavaya produces a cognition ‘the cow is similar to this (gavaya).’

Naiyāika definition criticised : While explaining this definition of upamāna, the Vārttikakāra points out that the definition given above is different from the one given by the Naiyāyikas ‘प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्यात् साध्यसाधनमुपमानम्’. The Naiyāyika definition would not prove that upamāna is a pramāṇa as distinguished from āgama or śabda. So begins the Vārttika text in the upamāṇa section :

• • “कीदृग्गवय इत्येवं पृष्टो नागरिकैर्यदि ।
ब्रवत्यारण्यको वाक्यं यथा गौर्गवयस्तथा ॥
एतस्मिन्मुपमानत्वं प्रसिद्धं शाबरे पुनः ।
तस्यागमबहिर्भावादन्त्यथैवोपवर्णितम् ॥”⁹

In this connection the scope of upamāna is discussed. It is said that upamāna generates a cognition of similarity in the object which has no contact with the senses. The similarity that is cognised may be the object of a perception and the object that possesses the similarity (like the cow in the example cited above), may be the object of a recollection ; but the cognition “एतत्सदृशं गौः” with the cow as viśeṣya and similarity as prakāra is nothing but upamiti. Thus the Vārttikakāra concludes :

“तस्माद्यत्स्मर्यते तत्स्यात् सादृश्येन विशेषितम् ।
प्रमेयमुपमानस्य सादृश्यं वा तदन्वितम् ॥
प्रत्यक्षेणावबुद्धेऽपि सादृश्ये गवि च स्मृते ।
विशिष्टस्यान्यतोऽसिद्धेरुपमानप्रमाणता ॥”¹⁰

Upamāna as a separate pramāṇa : The importance of upamāna as a separate pramāṇa in the interpretation of the Vedic texts is emphasised by the Vārttikakāra at the end of

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 1, 5, Upamāna, verses 1 and 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, verses 37 and 38.

the upamāna section. The atideśa by which the accessories of a prakṛti sacrifice are transferred to a vikṛti on the basis of similarity is nothing but upamānapramāṇa. Some think that it is anumāna. But there is no vyāpti between the Sauryādi-vākyas and the Āgneyavidhyanta. Similarly, the acceptance of a pratinidhi, substitute, of an accessory is based on a similarity—upamānapramāṇa. If a substitute (pratinidhi) is closely similar to the original, then it is to be preferred to anything less similar. Observes the Vārttikakāra :

“भिन्नानुमानादुपमेयमुक्ता सौर्यादिवाक्यैरसहापि (?) दृष्टम् ।

सादृश्यतोऽन्यादियुतं कथं नु प्रत्याययेदित्युपयुज्यते नः ॥

प्रतिनिधिरपि चैव ब्रीहिसादृश्ययोगाद्

भवति तदपचारे यत्र नीवारजाती ।

तदपि फलमभीष्टं लक्षणस्योपमायाः

प्रतिकृतिरपि गोर्णैर्बाध्यते यत्र चान्यैः ॥

यदि सृसदृशमन्यल्लभ्यते तत्र मिथ्या

भवति विमदृशत्वान्मन्दसादृश्ययुक्तम् ।

मतिरपि च तथैव द्रागिबोत्पद्यतेऽस्मि-

न्नितरविषयबोधऽन्यपीत्थं च बाधः ॥”

Arthāpatti

Arthāpatti presents an object presumed to exist without which another object seen or heard of, cannot be spoken of as existent — ‘अर्थापत्तिरपि दृष्टः श्रुतो वार्थोऽन्यथा नोपपद्यत इत्यर्थकल्पना’ (*Śābarabhāṣya*). This is illustrated in the *Bhāṣya* : “यथा जीवतो देवदत्तस्य गृहाभावदर्शनेन बहिर्भावस्यादृष्टस्य कल्पना”—the presumption that Devadatta exists outside (the house) is based on the experience of his non-existence in the house and on the fact that he is alive. Here there is a conflict (विरोध’ or “अनुपपत्ति”) between two pramāṇas, viz., abhāva which makes us know that Devadatta is not in his house (“गृहाभावदर्शनेन”) and the anumāna that makes us infer that he lives (“जीवतः”), but is not found in his house and on the basis of this conflict it is presumed that Devadatta exists in some place outside the house (“बहिर्भावकल्पना”). This is explained by the Vārttikakāra :--

“प्रमाणषट्कविज्ञातो यत्रार्थो नान्यथा भवेत् ।
अदृष्टं कल्पयेदन्यं सार्थापत्तिरुदाहृता ॥” ¹¹

The non-existence of the person concerned in the house is known by anupalabdhi or abhāva pramāṇa, while his existence in some place is inferred since he is known to live. The conflict between the two pramāṇas—abhāva and anumāna—is to be explained as that between a viśeṣa-śāstra and a sāmānya-śāstra and not as between two particulars like “इदं रजतम्” and “नेदं रजतम्” in which case one is sublated by the other. Just as the scope of the sāmānya-śāstra—न हि स्यात् सर्वा भूतानि is restricted in the light of the particular injunction of the kratuhimsā, the scope of anumāna is restricted in the light of the abhāvapramāṇa, so that the person who is not in his house should still be living in a particular place outside since he lives.

Arthāpatti based on other Pramāṇas. That this arthāpatti-pramāṇa is based on pratyakṣa is illustrated in the *Vārttika*: “तत्र प्रत्यक्षतो ज्ञानाद्वाहादहनशक्तता, बद्धेः” ¹²—the presumption of the existence in fire of a śakti to burn “दहनशक्तता” without which the perception of burning cannot be satisfactorily explained. That it is based on anumāna is illustrated in the *Vārttika*. “अनुमितान् सूर्यो यानात्च्छक्तिरयोग्यता”—from the fact that the sun is in different places in different times, it is inferred that he moves from place to place and it is presumed that the movement is not possible without possessing the śakti for movement. Those that are based on upamāna, arthāpatti and anupalabdhi are illustrated in the *Vārttika* as follows :

“गवयोपमिताया गीस्तज्ज्ञानग्राह्यता मता ।
अभिधानप्रसिद्ध्यर्थमथपित्यावबोधितात् ॥
शब्दे बोधकसामर्थ्यात्तन्नित्यत्वप्रकल्पनम् ।
अभिधा नान्यथा सिद्धयेदिनि वाचकशक्तताम् ॥

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 1, 5, Arthāpatti, versē I.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 1, 5, Arthāpatti, verse 3.

अर्थापित्यावगम्यैवं तदनन्यगतेः पुनः ।
 अर्थापत्त्यन्तरेणैव शब्दनित्यत्वनिश्चयः ॥
 'दर्शनस्य परार्थत्वा' दित्यस्मिन्नभिधास्यते ।
 प्रमाणाभावनिर्णीतचैत्राभावविशेषितात् ॥
 गेहाच्चैत्रबहिर्भावसिद्धिर्यातिवह दक्षिता ।
 तामभावोत्थितामन्यामर्थापत्तिमुदाहरेत् ॥" 13

Two main varieties of Arthāpatti. Arthāpatti is of two kinds : "दृष्टार्थापत्ति" and "श्रुतार्थापत्ति". The varieties under "दृष्टार्थापत्ति" have been already mentioned. The "श्रुतार्थापत्ति" is illustrated in the *Vārttika* thus :

"पीनो दिवा न भुङ्क्ते वेत्येवमादिवचः श्रुतो ।
 रात्रिभोजनविज्ञानं श्रुतार्थापत्तिरुच्यते ॥" 14

When we hear the statement that Devadatta does not eat in day time but is at the same time fat, we presume that he should be eating in the night time, since his fatness cannot be accounted for otherwise.

The utility of "श्रुतार्थापत्ति" for the interpretation of the Vedic texts is further elucidated in the *Vārttika* thus:

"स्मृत्या श्रुतिर्या परिकल्पितेऽस्मिन्
 लिङ्गादिभिर्या विनियोजिका च ।
 फलादिभिर्यत्पारंपूरणं च
 समन्वदृक् तत्र न का चिदस्ति ॥" 15

The authoritativeness of the vidhi passages in the Smṛti of Manu and other great Ācārya enjoining aṣṭakā and other śrāddhas is explained by śrutārthāpatti that they are based on smṛtivākyas and not on the ordinary statements of men which may or may not be valid. The liṅga — the capacity of a mantra to convey a particular sense—becomes a pramāṇa on āṅgatva on the basis of śrutārthāpatti. The mantra "बर्हिर्देवसवनं दामि" which explains the cutting of barhis

13 *Ibid.*, verses 4—9

14 *Ibid.* Verse, 51.

15 *Ibid.*, Verse 87.

in the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice will be of no use unless we take it as an accessory of barhirlavana in the sacrifice ; and this cannot be made out by liṅgapramāṇa unless we take for granted a śruti : “अनेन मन्त्रेण लवनं कर्तव्यम्” i.e. this mantra should be utilised as an accessory of barhirlavana in this sacrifice. The presumption of a śruti without which the liṅgapramāṇa cannot explain the aṅgāṅgibhāva is the result of śrutārthāpatti. The supplying of the word expressing a phala (fruit) in those codanās without phalaśravaṇa is again made possible by śrutārthāpatti. The codanās like “विश्वजिता यजेत” which enjoin sacrifices like Viśvajit cannot convey a complete sense unless they are related to words expressing reward. Hence the presumption that these sacrifices are related to a phala like svarga which is desired by all alike. In all these instances it is not possible to speak of the existence of vyāpti between the gamaka and gamya. So the question does not arise that anumāna can work in all instances of arthāpatti.

* *Arthāpatti as a separate pramāṇa.* The Nāiyāyikas, however, hold the view that arthāpatti can be brought under anumāna. They argue that in the example of arthāpatti : “जीवतो देवदत्तस्य गृहाभावदर्शनेन बहिर्भावकल्पना” it can be suggested that arthāpatti is nothing but a syllogistic statement such as “देवदत्तो बहिरस्ति, जीवित्वे सति गृहेऽप्रत्त्वात्, यो जीवन् यत्र नास्ति स ततोऽन्यत्रास्ति यथा अहम् ॥” This is met by the Mīmāṃsakas, as follows : the probans in the example cited above, viz., “जीवनविशिष्टगृहाभाव” cannot be spoken of as existent in the pakṣa (subject) without knowing Devadatta’s outside existence “देवदत्तबहिर्भावसत्त्वम्”. Hence the fallacy of svarūpāsiddhi—the absence of probans in the subject. This fact has been explained in one of the kārikās of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa’s forgotten work ‘*Brhātṭikā*’, cited by Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa in his *Mānameyodaya* :

“तस्माद्यो विद्यमानस्य गृहाभावोऽवगम्यते ।
स हेतुः सबहिर्भावं नागृहेत्वा च गृह्यते ॥” 16

Anupalabdhi

Next to arthāpatti, the abhāvapramāṇa is explained : “अभावोऽपि प्रमाणाभावो नास्तीत्यरूपार्थस्यासन्निकृष्टस्य”. Abhāva is the absence of the five other pramāṇas (already dealt with) and it produces a cognition presenting abhāva without any contact with the senses. Whether abhāva is an object to be cognised is a vexed question. The Prābhākaras do not accept abhāva except the adbhikaraprasavarūpa in instances like : “भूतले घटो नास्ति” and consequently they do not recognise the abhāvapramāṇa. But the Bhāṭṭas accept the four well-known varieties of abhāva and explain that the cognitions presenting abhāva are produced by anupalabdhipramāṇa. The Vārttikakāra opens this section thus :

“प्रमाणपञ्चकं यत् वस्तुरूपे न जायते ।
वस्तुसत्तावबोधार्थं तत्राभावप्रमाणता ॥” 17

The object which cannot be cognised with the help of the five other pramāṇas is cognised by abhāvapramāṇa. The first five are known as bhāvapramāṇas in the sense that they are helpful to cognise positive entities while the sixth is known abhāvapramāṇa in that it produces a cognition presenting abhāva which is also accepted as a vastu. That both abhāvas —the pramāṇa and the prameya—are different from the bhāvapramāṇas is explained in the Vārttika in syllogistic forms :

“अभावशब्दवाच्यत्वात् प्रत्यक्षादेश्च भिद्यते ।
प्रमाणानामभावो हि प्रमेयानामभाववत् ॥
अभावोऽपि प्रमाणेन स्वानुरूपेण मीयते ।
प्रमेयत्वाद्यथा भावस्तस्माद्भावात्मकात्पृथक् ॥” 18

16 p. 126. T. P. H. edn.

17 *Śloka-vārttika* ; I, 1, 5, Abhāva, verse 1.

18 *Ibid.*, verse 54 and 55.

The utility of abhāvapramāṇa in the interpretation of the vedic texts is also explained by the Vārttikakāra :

“कर्माणि सर्वाणि फलैस्समस्तैः सर्वैर्यथावच्च यदङ्गकाण्डेः ।

न सङ्गतानीह परस्परं हि नाङ्गं तदेतत्प्रभवं कृतूनाम् ॥”¹⁹

To explain that the fruit of one sacrifice is not produced by another, and that one pradhāna sacrifice is not accessory of another and that two accessories of a pradhāna sacrifice are not accessories to each other require the aid of abhāvapramāṇa.

Sambhava and Aitihya not separate pramāṇas

Only six pramāṇas are recognised by the Vārttikakāra and the Bhāṣyakāra. The two other pramāṇas—sambhava and aitihya—are placed under anumāna and āgama respectively, though they are recognised by some Ācāryas as separate pramāṇas. The Vārttikakāra observes:

“इह भवति शतादौ सम्भवात्मा सहस्रा-

मतिरवियुतभावाद्यानुमानादभिन्ना ।

जगति बहु न तथ्यं नित्यमैतिह्ययुक्तं

भवति तु यदि सत्यं नागमादिभ्यते तत् ॥”²⁰

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Verse 56.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, verse 58.

THE LOCUS CLASSICUS OF THE THEORY OF SUGGESTION

By SHRIKRISHNA MISHRA

In order to get the meaning out of a word or a sentence Sanskrit scholars postulate what they call *Vṛtti* or *Vyāpāra* which can be translated as 'power' or 'force' or 'function' without which words are incapable of giving any meaning.¹ Firstly, there is *Abhidhā* or Denotation, the primary function by which a word like 'cow' means the particular object known as 'cow'.² About the meaning of a sentence, some say that it is no more than the meanings of the different words used in the sentence, for a sentence is but a collocation of words. Really these scholars hold that words have no meaning apart from the sentence in which they occur and so are called *Anvitābbhi-bhānavādins*.³ But others⁴ believe that the meaning of a sentence is not expressed by any single word of that sentence, but is something new and different from the meanings of its constituent words, and is the resultant of the relation of the word-meanings through expectancy, compatibility and juxtaposition, which are the causes of the meaning of the sentence.⁵ Against their opponents the *Abhibitānvayavādins* affirm that the relation between the different words in a sentence is ex-

¹ नागृहीतवृत्तिकस्य शाब्दबोधः—*Paramalaghubhūmāñīṣā* (Benares Edition), Page 7.

² To be more precise, the word 'cow' means 'cowness' which being a quality and unable to exist without a substratum implies the body or form in which 'cowness' subsists, and thus means the cow as we see her. *Vide Vākyapadīya* quoted by *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Ānandāśrama series Ed.), page 32.

³ The followers of the Prabhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṃsā.

⁴ The followers of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila and the Naiyāyikas.

⁵ आकांक्षा योग्यता सन्निधिश्च वाक्यार्थज्ञाने हेतुः—*Tarkasaṅgraha*.

pressed, and in order to know the meaning of the sentence, which depends on this relation, there should be another function which they call *Tātparya* or Import.⁶ In any case, however, these two functions, *Abhidhā* and *Tātparya*, can bring out the meaning of ordinary sentences only and an apparently contradictory sentence like “the hamlet is in the Ganges” cannot be understood with the help of either or both of them. For, in this case, the primary meanings of the two words used in the sentence are incompatible. A ‘hamlet’ cannot exist in the *stream* of the Ganges, which is the primary meaning of the word ‘Ganges’. In order, therefore, to make the sentence intelligible, Sanskrit scholars postulate a function called *Lakṣaṇā* or Indication, which is different from the two functions above discussed. Whenever there is incompatibility between the primary meanings of different words in a sentence to the effect that the meaning of the sentence is rendered unintelligible, this function of indication renders it intelligible by bringing out of one such word a meaning closely related to its primary meaning.⁷ Thus the incompatibility in the present case is removed by bringing out of the word ‘Ganges’ the meaning, the bank of the ‘Ganges,’ which is closely related to the stream, the primary meaning of the word.

Now the question arises : Do these three functions suffice for bringing out the meaning of all different types of sentences that we come across in literature. And the answer that the Sanskrit literary critics of the Suggestion School give is an emphatic ‘no.’ They postulate a function called Suggestion which is of the utmost importance in poetry. We shall not here define poetry but that it deals with human sentiments can very safely be asserted. But they hold that an express statement of a sentiment is dull

⁶ Vide *Kāvyaṣaṣṭakāśa*, *vṛtti* on *Kārikā* VI, and *Locana* (Pattābhīrāma Sāstri’s edition), Page 56 वाक्यायै तात्पर्यशक्तिः परस्परान्विते

⁷ *Kāvyaṣaṣṭakāśa*, *Kārikā* IX,

and stale and is one of the defects of poetry.⁸ In order to get pleasure from poetry, that ecstatic joy which it undeniably gives, the sentiment must be presented to us from this very function of Suggestion. Thus, for instance, the word *Rati*, meaning the sentiment of love, does not move us at all while the same when suggested, for example, by the description of the different poses of bashful *Śakuntalā* in

वाचं न मिश्रयति यद्यपि मद्बचोभिः

कर्णं ददात्यभिमुखं मयि भाषमाणे ।

कामं न तिष्ठति मदाननसंमुखीयं

भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः ॥

transports us to an extraordinary world of enchantment. Any sensitive and cultured mind will bear witness to the fact. But apart from the joy-giving characteristic of this function, it is indispensable even for understanding the meaning of sentences. Take, for instance, the following verse—..

भम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो स सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ देण ।

गोलाणइकच्छवुड्ढं वामिणा दरिअसीहेण ॥

The speaker here is a woman who daily goes to the bowers on the bank of the Godāvarī to meet her lover, and the verse is addressed to a pious man whose frequent visits to the place for fetching flowers disturb her in her secret amours. She tries to dissuade him from going there. She cannot speak out her intention in open and clear words, nor can she possibly succeed in removing him from her way even if she does so. Therefore, she tells him, "O pious man, that dog has been killed today by that ferocious lion living in the bower on the bank of the Godāvarī river; now you may wander (there) with confidence." The dog of the verse may refer to an actual dog which might have disturbed the fellow in getting the flowers, or it may be an

⁸ स्वराब्देन सा केवलमनूयते न तु तत्कृता ।.., न हि केवल-शृङ्गारादिशब्दमात्र मात्रभाजि .. काव्ये मनागपि रसवत्त्वप्रतीतिरस्ति । *Dhvanyāloka* (Paṭṭābhīrama Sāstri's edition) p. 81-83; and also *Kāvya-prakāśa* Kārikā IX.

imaginary creature—a mere invention of the courtesan speaker to introduce the lion in order to terrify the naturally timid pious man. In any case, the cultured and sensitive listener, conversant with the context of the verse, will at once pick up that the true meaning of the verse is just the opposite of its apparent meaning and that the woman's recommendation is only a subtle device to remove the obstacle from her rendezvous. He will relish the disguised manner of her speech to get her heart's desire.

Now, not only does meaning presented through Suggestion become charming and relishable, but it cannot be understood without this function. It is a remarkable example of the predominance of the function of Suggestion in the field of literature. In the verse above quoted describing bashful Śakuntalā, it may be contended that the charm lay in the faithful portrayal of her amorous poses and not in the suggestion of love, but in the present instance, laying aside the poetic charm, the meaning itself is not clear without the help of Suggestion. And Ānandavardhana, the famous exponent of the theory of Suggestion, did well to choose such a verse in order to prove his thesis. The scholarly world will be, again, in a perpetual debt to his great interpreter Abhinavagupta who actually opened the eyes⁹ of those who are desirous to know the truth about poetry. He finally refuted the arguments of those who did not believe in Suggestion in his fine and elaborate exposition of this verse which has now become the classical example on the subject. His explanation of this verse has finally solved the Gordian knot of the nature of poetic communication. And the aim of the present article is to present briefly and clearly before the scholarly world Abhinavagupta's interpretation of this verse and his refutation of other interpreters.

⁹ लोचनोन्मीलनं व्यधात् *Locana*. Page 164.

II

The difficulty in the above mentioned classical example lies in the fact that the actual word used by the wench is *bhama* or 'you may wander,' while (her intended meaning as well as) the meaning conveyed by the sentence is just its opposite-- 'you should not wander.' Now, the crux of the problem is that this latter is not the primary or express meaning (*abbihitārtha*) of the word *bhama*. Again, it cannot mean 'may wander' and 'should not wander' at one and at the same time, as the two meanings are contrary to each other. Nor can it mean both alternately, because the power of a word ceases to function after it has expressed one sort of meaning.¹⁰ So the difficulty remains unsolved.

Three kinds of explanations of this verse have been recorded and refuted by Abhinavagupta. One explains it with the help of a means of knowledge; another does it by means of a function other than that of Suggestion; and yet a third brings out the meaning by dint of the manifestation of Rasa.

III

Of all the means of knowledge the one that can have a choice of application to the present case is Inference. In general we may note that the complex mental state of the woman in her inability to speak her heart's desire as is

¹⁰ So says the author of the *Locana*, quoting the authority of the *Vākyapadiya* in support of his argument. In note 2 above we mentioned how the word 'cow' actually means 'cowness' and not a particular cow. Now if anybody says that the word 'cow' means 'a particular being endowed with 'cowness,' to him the author of the *Vākyapadiya* says : विशेष्यं नाभिधागच्छेत् क्षीयशक्तिर्विशेषणे i.e., Denotation having exhausted its power of denoting the attribute, cannot express the substantive which must therefore be implied. On the authority of this axiom, Abhinavagupta says that Denotation having once expressed the meaning of *bhama* as 'you may wander' has exhausted its power of expressing any other meaning : विरम्यव्यापारासम्भवात् •*Locana*, page 55.

suggested by the verse is not so dull as inferential knowledge is. Nobody, for example, gets pleasure in inferring from the blinding smoke of the kitchen that there is fire in the kitchen. Pleasure derived from literature is an extraordinary experience and should not be thus dispensed with.”¹¹

But apart from the general criticism of the theory of inferential interpretation, we find the Naiyāyika is overthrown on his own grounds. Let us listen to his interpretation of the verse. He thus derives the meaning intended by the speaker: The advice of ‘wandering’ given by the licentious woman to the naturally frightful pious man causes us to infer just the opposite meaning (‘should *not* wander’) by her mention of the ‘ferocious lion haunting the Godāvarī groves.’

Now such a syllogistic reasoning commits the fallacy of the ‘discrepant reason’ (*anaikāntika hetu*) because even a fearful man sometimes goes to such dreadful places if he is so ordered by his master or so desired by his sweetheart. Moreover the pious man will certainly be in doubt whether he should believe in the words of so objectionable a character as the speaker of this verse, and hence the reason given is inconclusive (*asiddha*). Thus we find that the syllogistic or inferential interpretation lacks its main prop, the validity of reasoning.¹²

The second kind of interpretation seeks to derive the meaning of the verse with the help of the function either of Denotation (*abhidhā*) or of Import (*tāṭparya*).

The *Abhibhitānvayavādī*, who derives the meaning by Import construes it thus: It is incompatible to ask a naturally timid ‘pious’ man to go to a place haunted by a ‘fero-

¹¹ यस्त्वलौकिकचमत्कारात्मा रसास्वाद...नासौ स्मरणानुमानादिसाम्येन खिलीकार-
पात्रीकर्त्तव्यः *Locana*, Page 155.

¹² Vide *Locana*, Page 60, and also *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (edition of Haridāsa Siddhānta Vāgīśa), Page 280.

cious lion.' This incompatibility terminates the meaning of the verse in the other meaning—'you should not wander'—by the function of the sentence known as Import. The interpreter means to say that Import takes the help of Indication and functions after the latter has shown the incompatibility of the primary meaning of the words 'pious man' and 'ferocious lion.' Now such an interpretation is based on a false notion of the two functions. From the exposition given at the outset it should have been clear that Indication is the third function in the series of functions. It cannot work before Import, but only after it, because the connexion between the primary meanings of the different words—which constitutes Import—must be known first even to comprehend their incompatibility. The notion of contradiction itself presupposes the notion of connexion. Even in such absurd sentences as "Hundred elephants are on my finger's end" the connexion between the subject and the predicate cannot be denied, as absurdity is cognizable only after the knowledge of this connexion. In the present instance the lion has killed the dog which disturbed the man. Now the obstacle, the dog, having been removed, he can easily wander there. 'You may wander there, because the obstacle is removed' is quite an intelligible sentence. It would have been otherwise had the form of the sentence been 'you may wander there where the ferocious lion lives.' And once Import has expressed the apparent meaning of the sentence, it ceases to function.¹³

Thus we find that Import is unable to bring forth the required meaning of the verse. The *Amṛtābhīdhanavādī*, who seeks to convey the meaning by Denotation itself is as badly off. He thinks that the meaning of a word or sentence (a collocation of words) is that which it means last. Denotation, for him, is like an arrow which once discharged, passes

¹³ See note 8 above.

through many intermediaries to reach its final target.¹⁴ But if it be so and Denotation express many meanings, how can it be one function? Expressing different meanings is not possible for one function, for one function is postulated to express one sort of meaning. This difficulty cannot be set aside even if Denotations be of one type. And it will simply be a case of misnomer of functions of various types are known by the name, Denotation.

If by the comparison of the discharged arrow the *Anvitābbidhānavādī* means that this required last meaning is very swiftly expressed by the sentence we may question him: How can the sentence *directly* express the meaning when the convention regarding its denoting this meaning is not known?¹⁵

Moreover, the law of causation must be observed, for, otherwise, the difference between the 'Denotative' and the 'Indicative' meanings cannot be maintained. Incompatibility between the primary meanings of words in a sentence is the cause of Indication. Without such a cause there will be no need or justification of postulating a new function. If Denotation be like a discharged arrow, which prolonging its reach further and further expresses all the different meanings of a sentence, then, in that case, all the causal peculiarities must be dispensed with, which surely cannot be tolerated even by the *Anvitābbidhānavādī* who has

¹⁴ ..अन्विताभिधानवादी 'यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः' इति हृदये कृत्वा शरवदभिधा-
व्यापारमेव दीर्घदीर्घमिच्छति। *Locana*, Page 64.

¹⁵ In a very subtle and ingenious way the *Anvitābbidhānavādī* says that there is no need of establishing any separate convention for denoting this last meaning. He says that the meanings of the words have been already established by convention and when the convention is established in the material cause (the words) there is no need of establishing another or the same again to get the meaning of the effect (the sentence). But this makes him inconsistent, for, according to his theory, the meaning of the sentence precedes that of the word, and so cannot have word-meaning as its cause, as cause precedes the effect,— *Vide Locana* Pages 65-66.

burnt his boats on this score by postulating a second function called Indication.

Bhaṭṭanāyaka, the reputed author who wrote his *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* to demolish the theory of Suggestion, thinks that the required meaning of the verse cannot be had only of the force of the meaning of words or the sentence. The cognition of the fearful nature of the pious man and the ferocious nature of the lion account for it a great deal. In the present case, therefore, he says the meaning 'should not wander' is cognised not by any function of the word but by the manifestation of the 'Frightful Rasa.' He means to say that the listener or the reader of the verse will be impersonating the pious man in order to enjoy the Rasa of the verse and so electrified he will shudder at the mention of the 'ferocious lion' and thus the negative meaning of the verse will be at once apparent to him.¹⁶

Apart from the fact that the electrification of the sympathetic reader depends on the Rasa being first *suggested* to him—for Rasa can never be expressly conveyed—Bhaṭṭanāyaka's explanation loses ground when we see that the sympathetic reader should not necessarily be as coward as the pious man. Moreover, if there is any Rasa in the verse, it is the *Śṛṅgāra* and not the *Bhayānaka* as is clear from the context.

Thus we find that neither a means of knowledge nor any function other than that of Suggestion is capable to call out the true meaning of the verse and Bhaṭṭanāyaka's explanation puts the cart before the horse, in taking the help of Rasa for understanding the meaning.

IV

The nature of the function of Suggestion which alone can make the meaning of the verse intelligible has been defined very simply and succinctly by the author of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, when he says that Suggestion is that function

¹⁶ *Locana*, Page 68.

If the dog disturbed the man greatly, what business had this of the meaning which brings about the cognition of another meaning—that is, other than the express or indicated meaning?¹⁷ The nature of this suggested meaning as well as that of the composition having the suggested meaning have been more clearly stated by Ānandavardhana in these words:— ‘Where the word having subordinated its express meaning or the express meaning having subordinated itself suggest a new meaning which is sweet and relishable, that species of poetry is called *Dhvani* or Suggestion’.¹⁸ The casual peculiarities of this forth function of the word and meaning have been enumerated in the *Kāvya prakāśa*.¹⁹ They are the peculiarities of the speaker, the person spoken to, intonation, the sentence, place, time and others. The singularity in the person capable of understanding the suggested meaning is that he is endowed with imaginative intuition and must be dissatisfied with the ordinary express meaning of the verse.²⁰ This casual peculiarity—that of the reader being possessed of imaginative intuition—is the very life of Suggestion.²¹

Thus in the verse in question the meaning ‘should not wander’ is suggested not because there is any incompatibility between the primary meanings,²² but because the imaginative listener is not satisfied with the primary meaning—the unsolicited advice of the *barlot* to the *pious* man.

¹⁷ योऽर्थस्यान्यार्थधीहेतुव्यापारो व्यक्तिरेव सा । *Kāvya prakāśa*, *Kārikā* XXII.

¹⁸ *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kārikā*, XIII.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Kārikās* XXI and XXII.

²⁰ प्रतिभाजुषाम्, , *Kāvya prakāśa*, *Kārikā* XXII ; and वाच्यार्थविमुखात्मनाम् *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kārikā* 12.

²¹ प्रतिपत्प्रतिभासद्वकारित्वं ह्यस्माभिर्द्योतनस्य प्राणत्वेनोक्तम् *Locana*, page 63.

²² Hence it is not a case of लक्ष्यामूलकव्यञ्जना like गङ्गावां घोषः. Moreover, in लक्ष्यामूलकव्यञ्जना, ‘the suggested meaning is closely related to the primary meaning; here the suggested meaning ‘you should not wander’ is just opposite to the primary meaning, ‘you may wander’, of the word *bhama* in the verse.

woman to inform him that his obstacle had been removed. The reader at once gets the scent and the idea suddenly flashes to his mind that the pious man must have disturbed her in her secret amour in his frequenting the Godāvāri groves in search of flowers for adoration, and her only intention is to stop his movements thereabout.

We have taken time to explain how the true hidden meaning of the verse is suggested to the imaginative listener, but in actual experience it is instantaneously known.²³ This immediate cognizance of the suggested meaning misled the *Anvītābhīdhānavādī* to hold that it was nothing more than the express meaning. The swift perception of the quintessential meaning does not deny the existence of an order of sequence which, as a matter of fact, is always present there. The word-meaning is first apprehended, then the meaning of the sentence, then its suggested meaning. The sequence of these different meanings is not perceived in the same manner as that in remembrance of established convention (*sanketa*) or invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) in recognising the most familiar objects, or as the function of the word-meaning of the sentence is not known separately. The reason for this non-perception of sequence is excessive and constant study of poetry which makes the mind capable of grasping the quintessential meaning the moment a poetic piece is heard.²⁴ The incomprehension of the process in spite of its existence proves only the importance of the function of Suggestion in the realm of poetry.²⁵

²³ *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kārika* XII.

²⁴ किन्तु सातिशयानुशीलनाभ्यासवशात् तत्र सम्भाव्यमानोऽपि क्रमः.....अभ्यस्तविषय-
व्याप्तिसमयस्मृतिक्रमवन्न संवेद्यत इति । *Locana*, Pages 66-67

²⁵ प्राधान्यादेव तत्पर्यन्तानुसरणरक्षणकस्वरिता मध्ये विश्रान्ति न कुर्वत इति क्रमस्य
सतोऽप्यलक्षणं प्राधान्ये हेतुः । *Locana*, Page 101.

By *Locana* and *Dhvanyāloka* in this paper I refer to one and the same book, the *Dhvanyāloka* with *Locana* and *Bālupriyā* commentaries edited by Paṭṭābhirāma Sāstri and published by Chowkhambha Sanskrit series, Benares..

DATE OF VĀCASPATI MIŚRA AND UDAYANĀCĀRYA

By DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Vācaspati Miśra wrote his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* in the year 898 वस्वकवसुवत्सरे of an unspecified era. The year if referred to the Śaka era is only 8 years before Udayana wrote the *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in 906 Śaka. Such a close contemporaneity of Udayana and Vācaspati is untenable. The year, therefore, is now usually referred to the *Vikramābda*, placing Vācaspati in 841 A.D. We shall invite scholars to reconsider the problem in the light of the latest materials, some of which are briefly noted below :

1. Vācaspati is separated by a considerable length of time from Śaṅkarācārya, as he has refuted in the *Bhāmātī* the views of the latter's opponent Bhāskara. The date of Śaṅkara is uncertain, but we can put in round numbers as 800 A.D. Vācaspati ought, therefore, to be placed early in the 10th cent. A.D. at the earliest.

2. In the *Tātparyatīkā* (p. 339, Viz. Ed., cf. also *Nyāyakāṇikā* p. 187) while refuting the Buddhist theory on the negative meaning of words (*apoha*) Vācaspati says :— [॥ भदन्तधर्मोत्तरः and quotes the line— बुद्ध्या कल्पितया विविक्तमपरैर्यद्भूपमुल्लिख्यते, बद्धिर्नो न बहिरिति। The whole passage, as Stcherbatsky has shown¹ is mainly based on a separate tract of Dharmottara named *Apoha-prakaraṇa* preserved in the Tibetan. It should be noted that Vācaspati has quoted the Buddhist scholar with the utmost respect by actually naming him with a honorific epithet *bhadanta*. This can only be explained by assuming that they were separated by a considerable length of time, not less than a century. According to Tibetan works Dharmottara flourished under King Vanapāla in the middle

¹ *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, p. 476 f. n. & Vol. II, p. 403 ff.

of the 9th cent. A.D.² Vanapāla is a myth, but the fact remains that Dharmottara came after the first four or five monarchs of the Pāla dynasty. Dharmottara is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*³ as a contemporary of Jayāpīḍa (*circa* 800 A.D.) thus :

स स्वप्ने पश्चिमाशयां लक्षयन्नुदयं रवेः ।

देशं धर्मोतराचार्यं प्रविष्टे साध्वमन्यत ॥

This is not in conflict very much with the Tibetan evidence and Dharmottara can be safely placed in the first half of the 9th cent. A.D. Vācaspati cannot, therefore, be placed before the 10th cent. A.D.

3. In the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*⁴ occurs the following passage तदिदं चिरंतनवैशेषिकमतद्रूपं भूषणकारस्यातिप्रपाकरम् । तदियमनाम्नातता भासर्वज्ञस्य यदियमाचार्यमन्यवमन्यते । तथा च तदनुयायिनस्तात्पर्याचार्यस्य सिहनादः संविदेष भगवतीत्यादि, which is also quoted by Vācaspati Miśra in his *Tātparyatīkā* (p. 277.) So, according to Vallabhācārya (*cir.* 1100 A.D.) Vācaspati came after Bhāsarvajña, author of the *Nyāyabhināṣaṇa*. In the latter book, which remains yet to be published, Bhāsarvajña refuted at length the views, among others, of the Buddhist scholar Prajñākaragupta (*Gaṇakārikā*, G. O. S., Intr. p. i). So the earliest date that can be assigned to Bhāsarvajña will fall in the 9th cent. A.D.

4. Udayana in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (p. 114) while explaining the argument establishing 'time' as a separate entity quotes the following passage :—

नचात्माकाशौ तथा भवितुमर्हन्तौ विशेषगुणवत्त्वात् पृथिव्यादिवदित्याचार्याः ।

The reference is evidently to Vācaspati (cf. *Tātparyatīkā*, p. 280) अपिचाकाशात्मानौ न परापरव्यतिकरकारणम् असाधारणगुणयोगित्वात् पृथिव्यादिवन् । But curiously enough Vardhamāna in his gloss

² (Vidyābhūṣaṇa: *Indian Logic*, pp. 329 & 518. Also *Īag Sam*, Index, p. xxxiv : read Vanapāla for Nayapāla .

³ IV. 498.

⁴ p. 358 Chow. Benares Ed.

here definitely identifies this Ācārya with Vyomaśivācārya⁵ and not Vācaspati. This can only be explained by the assumption that according to Vardhamāna Vācaspati came after Vyomaśiva. It should be noted in this connection that a careful study of the relevant passages of *Vyomavatī* (pp. 342-43), *Kandalī* (pp. 64; 168-9) *Tātparyatīka* (pp. 280-1) and *Līlāvatī* (p. 283) seems to show that all the scholars including Vācaspati attempted here to meet a familiar argument ascribed in the *Līlāvatī* to the *Bhāṣaṇa* (of Bhāsarvajña):—न च परत्वापरत्वसिद्धिरपि बहुतरनपनपरिस्पन्दान्तरितजन्मत्वेनैव तदुपपत्तेः इति भूषणः. Vyomaśiva preceded both Udayana and Śrīdhara. Let us give some references on the point. On p. 46 of the *Kandalī* the views of a scholar (*kaścit*) on the perceptibility of *vāyu* is refuted. The views belong to Vyomaśiva (pp. 272-4). Udayana ((pp. 82-84) mainly agrees with Śrīdhara here but criticises one of his arguments: न च स्पर्शमात्रमेव तत्र प्रतीयते वायुस्त्वनुमीयते इति युक्तम्। Udayana, it should be noted, is far more advanced in arguments here than Śrīdhara. On p. 52 of the *Kandalī* the grammatical explanation of the word वृत्तिलब्ध्वा is a direct answer to Vyomaśiva's objection (p. 300). The views of 'eke' on p. 134; p. 136 are exactly taken from the *Vyomavatī* (pp. 474, 477). The scathing criticism of the solution of an 'un-schooled' intellectual (*Kandalī* p. 147) is also directed against Vyomaśiva (p. 490). Compare also p. 200 of the *Kandalī* अन्येन with p. 563 of the *Vyomavatī*; here also Udayana agrees with Śrīdhara. Under the circumstances the lower limit of the date of Vyomaśiva would be 950 A.D. On p. 392 of the *Vyomavatī* a temple apparently built by a contemporary monarch named Śrīharṣa is referred to by way of illustration: श्रेष्ठं देवकुलमिति ज्ञाने।

⁵ Vardhamāna's gloss is corrected in the *errata* as 'Vyomaśikhācārya,' but the reading 'Vyomaśivācārya' is found in a *Ms.* of the *Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa* preserved in the *Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariśad*, Calcutta (fol. 61b).

We would identify this monarch with the Candella Harṣa (*cir.* 900 A.D.) rather than Śrīharṣa of Mālava (*cir.* 949-70 *vide Dynastic Hist. of North India*, Vol II pp. 667, 753, 921). Vyomaśiva's priority in age to Udayana and Śrīdhara makes it impossible to identify him with the saint Vyomaśiva abundantly eulogised in vv. 22-42 of the Ranod stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 351-61) which is assigned to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D. The identification was first suggested in the Intr. to the *Tarkasaṅgraha* (G. O. S.) p. xix; also *I.H.Q.* X. pp. 165-6. The implication of Vardhamāna's reference to Vyomaśiva in the passage of Udayana cited above would, therefore, place Vācaspati in the latter half of the 10th cent. A.D. In other words, the year 898 correctly refers to the Śaka era which was commonly used in Eastern India.

5. The above view is supported in our opinion by the fact that Śrīdhara in his *Nyāyakandalī* nowhere betrays his acquaintance with the works of Vācaspati. Śrīdhara, for instance, in his famous dissertation on *tamas* (darkness) quotes two *kārikās* of an unknown author ;— (p. 10)

तदुक्तं—न च भासामभान्नस्य तमस्त्वं वृद्धसंमतम्

छायायाः काष्ण्यमित्येवं पुराणे भृगुगश्रुतेः॥

दूरासवप्रदेशादिमहदपचलाचला ।

देहानुवर्तिनी छाया न वस्तुत्वाद्भिना भवेत् ॥

The same verses are cited also by Vācaspati as from a Vārtikakāra in the *Nyāyakaṇika* (p. 76) with considerable variation of readings, showing that they drew from independent sources unknown to each other. Śrīdhara refutes at some length the views of the Śāṅkhyas on *Satkāryavāda* (pp. 143-44). The ancient *kārikā* असत्त्वान्नास्ति संबन्धः is found cited therein. At first sight it would appear that Śrīdhara was refuting the words of Vācaspati's *Sāṅkhyatattva-Kaumudī* (under *Kārikā* 9), where the same old *kārikā* is found cited. But a close examination of the passages proves

that the exact words cited and refuted by Śrīdhara do not belong to Vācaspati and the *kārikā* under notice is already cited in the earlier work *Yuktidīpikā* (*Cal. Sans. Series*, p. 61). Similarly, the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 67 is explained in the *Kandalī* (p. 284), but the better comment on the word अकारणप्राप्तौ by Vācaspati is not referred to. This silence of Śrīdhara, who it should be noticed has quoted Dharmottara by name (p. 76), makes it impossible to assign 841 A.D., i.e. fully 150 years before his own time, as the date of Vācaspati.

Date of Udayanācārya

We are confronted now with the well-known date of Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvalī* (906 Śaka = 984-5 A.D.) and we shall state at once that this date conflicts with all evidence about Udayana and must be rejected. The verse recording this date is not found in a Bengali Ms of 1621 Ś. belonging to the *Cal. Sans. College Descr. Cat.*, (pp. 260-1) and is neither presupposed in the *Nyāyamuktāvalī* commentary. We suspect that the reading तर्काम्बरांक is a misreading for तर्कस्वरांक (976 Śaka = 1054 A.D.) and manuscripts of the work should be carefully consulted to trace the correct reading of the date, which so long provided a bedrock in the chronology of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature.

Śrīdhara wrote in 991-2 A.D. and there cannot be any question that Udayana consulted his work and refuted his views in the *Kiraṇāvalī*.

- (i) Śrīdhara's well-known views about *tamas*, which he carefully recorded thrice in the *Kandalī* (pp. 9, 179, 240) apparently as his own, were discussed in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (B.I. Ed., pp. 111-12) and Vardhamāna definitely states here कन्दलीकारमतमुत्थापयति⁶.

⁶ Vardhamāna vouches for the *Kandalīkāra*'s priority to Udayana also in the *Guṇaprakāśa* (S. B. Ed., p. 77 vide *Kiraṇāvalī*, Ben. Ed., p. 204).

- (ii) The line कथं भावन्नर्मध्यारोपोऽभाव इति चेत् व किंचिदेतत्: (p. 110) is also exactly taken from the *Kandalī* (p. 9, last line).
- (iii) Similarly the line तथैवपरमाणुगतरूपादिसंताने नैकान्तिकमितेचेन्न of the *Kiraṇāvalī* (p. 58) refers to the *Kandalī* pp. 4, 11, 13-14).
- (iv) In the section on *ākāśa* (*Kiraṇāvalī*, Ben. Ed., p. 109) we find अन्ये त्वात्मान्तरग्राह्यत्वादिति अनेकप्रतिपत्तुसाधारणत्वादिति हेत्वर्थं वर्णयन्ति, स तु मादंघासिद्धः। This is also a clear reference to the *Kandalī* (p. 60) as stated by the editor, the late Mm. V. P. Dube (*vide Intr. to the Nyāyakandalī*, pp. 21-2);
- (v) In the section on *Prthivī* in the *Kandalī* (p. 31) we read :—तस्मादणुस्वभावायाः पृथिव्याः सत्त्वे किं प्रमाणं ? अनुमानम् । अणुपरिमाणतारतम्यं क्वचिद्विश्रान्तं परिमाणतारतम्यत्वान् महत्परिमाणतारतम्यवत् ।

This argument is exactly reproduced in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (Ben. Ed., p. 52 B. I. Ed., p. 224) with the heading अपर आह and refuted. Mathurānātha Tarkavāṛīśa in his *Dravyākiraṇāvalīu¹āsyu* (Ms No. 139 of the Cal. Sans. College, fol. 88a) comments here—कन्दलकारोक्तं परमाणुद्वयगुणसिद्धिप्रयोजकमनुमानमाह अपरस्त्विति । अणुपरिमाणतारतम्यमिति । Mathurānātha must have access to an unknown source in the present case, as he is not borrowing either from Vardhamāna or Padmanābha, both of whom are silent on the point.

Following the opinion of the late Mm. V. P. Dube (*Intr. to the Kandalī* pp. 20-2) many scholars believe that Śrīdhara also controverted Udayana's views in several places of the *Kandalī*. This is on the face of it improbable. In the whole domain of Sanskrit literature there is hardly any case where two authors, coming again from different localities, have quoted from each other's works.⁷ As a

⁷ The only case we have come across is of Śūlapāṇi, the Bengali Smārta and Yācaspati Miśra the Maithila Smārta; the former cited the latter in the *Rasayātrāvivēka* (I.H.Q. Vol. XVII, pp. 464-65).

matter of fact the two instances of Śrīdhara's citation from Udayana referred to here (*ibid.* p. 21 f. n. 3) are quite wrong. In the first instance Śrīdhara states that according to some scholars (and Udayana is not certainly one of them) the age-difference between the young and the old is caused not by the time-element but by the number of revolutions of the sun (*Kandalī* p. 64)—a view ascribed, as we have stated above, in the *Lilāvatī* (p. 283) to the *Bhāṣaṇa* and found already cited in the *Vyomavatī* (p. 343) and the *Tātparyatīkā* of Vācaspati (p. 280). In the second instance (*Kandalī* p. 119) it is Udayana who violently criticises (p. 204) Śrīdhara:— नष्टस्यापि समवायिकारणत्वमिति त्वलौकिकंमवैदिकं च. The opinion of Rājaśekhara, commentator of the *Nyāya-kandalī*, (Intr., p. 19) is, therefore, substantially corroborated by internal and external evidences that *Vyomavatī* is the first, *Kandalī* the second and *Kiraṇāvalī* the third commentary on *Prāśastapāda-bhāṣya*. Śrīdhara belongs to Bengal and the earliest date of Udayana who consulted his work should be a generation later in about 1025 A.D. As we shall presently see this date is also a bit too early for Udayana.

In the *Tātparya-parisuddhi* (B. I. Ed., p. 713) Udayana refers to the celebrated Buddhist scholar Jñānaśrī by name and cites the following *kārikā* of his—

धर्मस्य कस्यचिदवस्तुनि मानसिद्धा
बाधाविधिव्यवहृतिः किमिहास्ति नो वा ।
क्वाप्यस्ति चेत् कथमियन्ति न दूषणानि
नास्त्येव चेत् स्ववचनप्रतिरोधसिद्धिः ॥

This very *kārikā* is twice cited in Ratnakīrti's *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi* (*Buddhist Nyāya Tracts*, pp. 62, 76-7) under the caption यथाहर्गुरुवः Jñānaśrī was the teacher of Ratnakīrti. Udayana concludes his discourse here with a fitting twist of the same *kārikā* thus—

शब्दस्य काचिदपि वस्तुनि मानसिद्धा

बाधाविधिव्यवहतिः क्वचिदस्ति नो वा ।

अस्त्येव चेत्....

Udayana attacks him in the same vein also in the *Ātmataṭṭvavivēka* with much more direct and pungent remarks. (B. I Ed., p 423) Jñānaśrī is named but once in the latter work (p. 292), but if the commentary of Śaṅkara Miśra is closely studied it will appear that he was the greatest opponent Udayana sought to silence by arguments. (*vide* pp. 289, 292, 317, 436, 453, 464-5, 489-90, 841.) Some of the works of Jñānaśrī were still extant in the time of Śaṅkara, who has quoted many passages from him. According to Śaṅkara Miśra Udayana refuted the views of Ratnakīrti in two places रत्नकीर्त्तः समाधिमत्र दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति बाह्यत्वेवमिति । (p. 435) रत्नकीर्त्तित्तमतं शङ्कते चित्राकारमिति (p. 462) This latter quotation is evidently from Ratnakīrti's चित्राद्वैतप्रकरण recently discovered in original Sanskrit *Vāḍanyāya* App. p. XV.

Now, according to reliable Tibetan evidence both Jñānaśrī and his pupil Ratnakīrti were living in the 2nd quarter of the 11th cent. A.D. We read in the Life of Atisa, authentically handed down in Tibet, that when the king of Tibet invited Atisa to come to Tibet Ratnakīrti, among others, was an eminent Pandit under him at Vikramaśīlā Monastery. (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 17). He was helped on that occasion by Ācārya Jñānaśrī or Jñānaśrīmitra (*Ibid.* p. 20-21). Atisa left for Tibet in March, 1041 A. D. (*I. H. Q.*, Vol., VI., p. 159) and the invitation from the king of Tibet came three years before in 1037-8 A. D. Jñānaśrī and Ratnakīrti had already reached the peak of their celebrity ; so that we may conclude that the period of their literary activity ended about 1025 A. D. and Udayana could not have written any of his works before say 1040 A. D.

THE CONCEPT OF DUHKHA IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.¹

By JAIDEVA SINGH

The charge of pessimism has generally been levelled by Western writers against Indian philosophy. The most important reason of this charge seems to be the misunderstanding of the concept of duhkha. It is the aim of this paper to show what exactly is meant by duhkha in Indian philosophy.

The word kham means a hole, an aperture, and hence an aperture of the body, a sense-organ. It is in this sense that we get the word kham in the *Kaṭha* (II, I) “स्राञ्चिखानि व्यतृणत् स्वयंभूस्तस्मात्पराङ् पश्यति नान्तरात्मन्” “The self-existent one pierced the apertures (of the body) outward; hence does one look outward, not inward.” Roth derived duhkha from the bad hole of a chariot. ‘Duḥ’ means ‘bad,’ and ‘kham,’ a hole. Duhkha means a bad hole. If the central hole of a chariot was not properly made, the spokes could not be properly fitted, and in travelling, the chariot caused a jolt or a jar. The traveller naturally experienced discomfort under the circumstances. So duhkha, meaning a bad hole was transferred to mental discomfort. Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmī, the commentator on *Amarakośa*, traces the derivation of duhkham in the following way:—‘दुष्टानि खानि अस्मिन् इति दुःखम्’ Duḥkham denotes a state in which the sense-organs are injured, or contaminated or become unsound. Whether we derive it after Roth or Kṣīrasvāmī, the central truth stands out prominently clear. Where there is disturbance

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of harmony, we have duḥkha. It seems to me that suffering or sorrow is a very misleading translation of duḥkha. The best translation would be disharmony; dis-ease; com-motion; un-rest.

Let us now see in what sense the word has been used in Indian Philosophy. The Buddha after quoting a few familiar instances of duḥkha says, "In short the five upādāna-skandhas are duḥkha" (*Dīrghanikāya*-22). The five upādāna-skandhas are rūpa, vedanā, sañjñā, saṃskāra, vijñāna. In *Samyutta Nikāya*, he says, "O Bhikkhus, all the saṃskāras are anitya, all the saṃskāras are duḥkha and all the dharmas are anātma" (S. 21, 2). The Buddha says, "All saṃskāras are duḥkha." By saṃskāras he meant all formations, all formed or compounded things, all things that have a beginning and an end, all possible physical and mental constituents of existence. If we translate duḥkha by suffering, then, "All saṃskāras are duḥkha" would mean, "All saṃskāras are suffering" which does not yield very clear or cogent meaning. The Buddha says, "All the saṃskāras, all compounded things, all elements of phenomenal existence are anitya, in a state of perpetual flux" and follows it up by saying that they are duḥkha i.e., in a state of commotion, unrest. Vasubandhu maintains (*Ab. K. T. T.*) that the Buddha imparted to mankind a knowledge of the method of converting all utpatti-dharmas into anutpatti-dharmas i.e., of stopping for ever the commotion created by the operation of the forces active in the process of (phenomenal) life. "All phenomenal existence, according to him, is duḥkha, for in it, there is always an element of commotion or unrest; in Nirvāṇa alone there is peace. It may be said, therefore, that the Buddha means by duḥkha commotion, and therefore, phenomenal existence which is always in commotion. That is why he says "All the five upādāna-skandhas are duḥkha." It is said.

in the *Madhyavṛtti* also “Tha hi pañcopādāna-skandha duḥkham ityucyate.”

It is not in Buddhism alone that duḥkha has been used in the sense of phenomenal existence. Vātsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Nyāya-sūtra* I. i., 22 “तदत्यन्तविमोक्षोऽपवर्गः” says, “तेन दुःखेन जन्मनाऽत्यन्तविमुक्तिरपवर्गः”. According to him also, duḥkha means janma i.e., phenomenal life. Vācaspati Miśra, commenting on this *Bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana (?) sounds a note of warning against a possible misunderstanding of duḥkha in the usual sense of pain, and says, मुख्यमेव दुःखमिति भ्रमो माभूदत आह ‘जन्मनेति’। अनेन जायमाना दुःखशब्देन शरीरादयः उच्यन्ते इत्युक्तं भवति।”² Vācaspati Miśra very clearly maintains above that by duḥkha is here meant body etc. that are subject to birth and decay. In other words, duḥkha, means phenomenal life. It is clear from this that it is exceedingly misleading to translate duḥkha as misery, suffering, sorrow. It may be somewhat confounding to a person un-acquainted with the Indian way of thinking to find that even objects of sense and so-called pleasure are included in duḥkha. Udyotakara in his *Nyāya-Vārtika* remarks, एकविंशतिप्रभेदभिन्नं पुनर्दुःखं—शरीरं, षडिन्द्रियाणि, षड्विषयाः, षड्बुद्ध्यः सुखं, दुःखं चेति”³

Sukha or pleasure, viśaya or object of sense can hardly be called misery or suffering in English. It is perfectly clear from the quotations given above that by duḥkha is meant phenomenal life and its constituents.

We have seen then that (i) duḥkha means commotion, unrest. There is an element of commotion, unrest in all things that have a beginning and an end. (All the saṃskāras are duḥkha), (ii) it means phenomenal life or existence (the five upādāna-skandhas ; śarīra, ṣaḍindriyas,

² *Nyāya-Vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā*, p. 238 Chowkhāmbha edition.

³ *Nyāya-Vārtika*, p. 2, Chowkhāmbha edition.)

śaḍviṣayas, etc.). Since the upādāna skandhas, śarīra, etc., are saṁskṛta, compounded, there is bound to be an element of commotion or unrest in them. Therefore, one meaning of duḥkha in Indian philosophy might be called physico-bio-psychical. In the very constitution of phenomenal, physico-bio-psychical, existence, there is an element of commotion, of unrest.

Another meaning of duḥkha in Indian philosophy is psychological. It means dis-harmony ; dis-ease ; pain. The psychological meaning is only an expansion, application or counter-part of the first meaning. To be in love with, to be attached to, to run after, to pursue things that have inherently an element of commotion in them is to create dis-harmony in one's life, to invite unrest. From the irritability of the amœba to the maddening passion of man, there is an element of unrest. This dis-harmony, dis-ease, un-rest, irritability, pain is the psychological counter-part of the commotion that is inherent in the phenomenal. The *Sāṅkhyā-kārikā*, 55 says clearly :—

तत्र जरामरणकृतं दुःखं प्राप्नोति चेतनः पुरुषः ।

लिङ्गस्याविनिवृत्तेस्तस्माद् दुःखं स्वभावेन ॥

“ The conscious being experiences duḥkha consequent on decay and death because of the non-discrimination of the subtle body as different from the spirit ; hence unrest is of the nature of things.”

This kārikā (1) refers to duḥkha, (11) gives its background and (111) its rationale.

It says that the conscious being experiences duḥkha, and gives its background in तत्र जरामरणकृतं दुःखम्. Vācaspati Miśra explains ‘तत्र जरामरणकृतम्’, in the following way:— ‘तत्र’ शरीरादौ । यद्यपि विविधा विचित्रानन्दभोगभागिनः प्राणभूदेहाः तथापि सर्वेषां जरामरणकृतं दुःखमविशिष्टम् ।” It is the lot of every human being to experience unrest consequent on decay and death. All phenomenal

things are in a state of perpetual flux. An element of commotion is inherent in them. The body, gross or subtle, belongs to the phenomenal. Decay and death are the common lot of all that is of the earth, earthy. Duḥkha-unrest is inherent in all that is in perpetual fluctuation. It is naturally consequent on decay and death.

So much for the background. The question arises, "Let there be a flux in all things phenomenal. What is the explanation of the psychological experience of pain or unrest?" "The kārīkā gives the rationale of this feeling of duḥkha. The psychological experience is only a counter-part of the phenomenal. The answer is given in "लिङ्गस्याविनिवृत्तेः". An element of unrest is of the very nature of things phenomenal. The body belongs to the phenomenal. So long as man identifies himself with his body, he is bound to experience unrest or pain. The kārīkā clenches the whole issue by saying, तस्माद्दुःखं स्वभावेन".

If man is in love with things that are perpetually fluctuating, it is in the very nature of things that he must experience duḥkha. Vācaspati Miśra explains लिङ्गस्याविनिवृत्तेः in the following way :—"पुरुषाद्भेदाग्रहाल्लिङ्गधर्मानात्मन्यध्यवस्यति पुरुषः" Man is fundamentally a spirit. In his essential nature, there is no duḥkha whatsoever, but he experiences duḥkha, because he identifies himself with the body, with things phenomenal. Since the body belongs to the phenomenal, fluctuation or unrest is of the very nature of the body (लिङ्गधर्मः). One cannot find rest in unrest. Abiding peace can come to man only when he rises above the turmoil of the elements of his lower nature.

These aspects of duḥkha are very clearly set forth by Patañjali in his *yoga-sūtras*. Says he, परिणामतापसंस्कारदुःखैर्मुणवृत्तिविरोधान्च दुःखमेव सर्वं विवेकिनः⁴

Because of the pain of (a) change (b) anxiety or dread and (c) impressions and also by reason of the mutual conflict of the functions of the *guṇas*, all is pain to the discerning.

The conditions of *guṇas* go on fluctuating. Now *sattva* predominates, now *rajas*, now *tamas*. In this ever-shifting state of the *guṇas*, there is bound to be *duḥkha*; there cannot be an abiding peace. This very closely corresponds to the statement of the Buddha that all the *saṃskāras* are *duḥkha*. So *duḥkha* is of the very nature of the phenomenal. Then there is *duḥkha*, because of *pariṇāma*-change, sequential condition. The sequential condition of pleasure is pain. The result of enjoyment is that there is greater craving for the object of enjoyment, and this causes pain. The *Bhōjavṛtti* explains तापदुःखं in the following way:—उपभुज्यमानेषु सुखसाधनेषु तत्प्रतिपत्त्यनं प्रति द्वेषस्य सर्वदैवावस्थितत्वात्सुखानुभवकालेऽपि तापदुःखं दुष्परिहरमिति तापदुःखता । Even while experiencing pleasure one dreads that which may disturb it or place an obstacle in its way. So there is the pain born of dread, of fear, of anxiety. Again there is pain due to the *saṃskāras*, impressions or tendencies. These impressions are dynamic. A craving once satisfied is but the seed from which springs the craving for a similar satisfaction again. "The appetite comes in eating" says the proverb, and it grows by what it feeds on.

In short, there cannot be real joy in sense-enjoyment in listening to the clamour of the flesh, in satisfying the craving of our lower nature. *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* rightly remarks in this connexion.—

या भोगेऽवन्द्रियाणां तृप्तेरपशान्तिस्तत्सुखम् या लील्यादनुपशान्तिस्तद्दुःखम् । न चेन्द्रियाणां भोगाभ्यासेन वैतृण्यं कर्तुं शक्यम् । कस्माद् । यतो भोगाभ्यासमनुविबर्द्धन्ते रागाः, कौशलानि चेन्द्रियाणामिति । तस्मादनुपायः सुखस्य भोगाभ्यास इति ।"

Turn we now to the *Bhagavadgītā* which contains the quintessence of all that is best in Indian thought,

Śrīkrṣṇa says,—

मामुपेत्य पुनर्जन्म दुःखालयमशाश्वतम् ।

नाप्नुवन्ति महात्मानः संसिद्धिं परमां गताः ॥⁵

He calls पुनर्जन्म the abode of duḥkha. Here also we see that duḥkha is an element of phenomenal life, for phenomenal life is अशाश्वतम् always in a state of flux.

. The psychological aspect of duḥkha as unrest, disease, dis-harmony, pain is stressed in the following verse:—

ये हि संस्पर्शजा भोगा दुःखयोनय एव ते ।

आद्यन्तवन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते बुधः ॥

The pleasures born of sense-contact are verily causes of dis-harmony, for they are आद्यन्तवन्तः; they have a beginning and an end. They are perishing; they do not last. In nothing that is fluctuating and perishing can man find eternal satisfaction.

We have seen then that all along duḥkha in Indian-philosophy is a characteristic, an element of the phenomenal. Because the phenomenal, the Saṅkhāra, the saṃsāra, is ever-moving, never-staying; therefore duḥkha commotion, un-rest is inherent in it. When man pursues that which is ever-moving, when he is attached to, is in love with the phenomenal he is bound to experience duḥkha, disharmony, un-rest. Both of these ideas of duḥkha, are inter-connected. They may be distinguished, but they cannot be separated.

There is a yet higher sense in which the word duḥkha is used in Indian philosophy. It signifies our awareness of incompleteness, our feeling of imperfection, the burden of finitude, the sense of insufficiency which urges us to recover our lost integrity, to recapture that wholeness in which alone is abiding bliss.

We read in the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* that Nārada once approached Sanatkumāra, and implored him to accept him as his disciple, "Tell me what you have learned, and I shall teach you something further than that" says Sanatkumāra. Nārada names a number of vidyās that he has learned and says he knows only mantras, not the Ātman, and concludes in the following words : "साहं भगवः सोत्वामि । तं मा भगवाञ्छोकस्य पारं तारयतु इति ।" ⁶ "In spite of all my learning Sir, I am experiencing heartache, pain, a sense of gnawing emptiness. Ferry me over to the other shore across this water of miserable incompleteness." After taking Nārada to an ascending series of yet higher and higher truths, Sanatkumāra ends by saying, यो वै भूमा तत्सुखं नाल्पे सुखमस्ति । भूमैव सुखम् । भूमात्वेव विजिज्ञासेतव्य इति ।" ⁷

As Śaṅkara remarks, here, sukham means niratiśayam sukham, Supreme bliss. "Bliss is in the infinite, in the whole alone ; there is no bliss in the finite. The infinite, the whole should be sought to be understood." The following commentary of Śaṅkara on this portion deserves to be carefully noted :

"अतस्तस्मिन्नल्पे सुखं नास्ति । अल्पस्याधिकतृष्णाहेतुत्वात् । तृष्णा च दुःखबीजम् । न हि दुःखबीजं सुखं दृष्टं ज्वरादि लोके । तस्माद्युक्तं नाल्पे सुखमस्ति । अतो भूमैव सुखम् । तृष्णादिदुःखबीजत्वासंभवाद् भूमन् ।"

In his wonderfully penetrating analysis, Śaṅkara shows very clearly that the finite is the cause of craving and of duḥkha. Thus duḥkha is our sense of finitude, of incompleteness, imperfection, insufficiency.

To sum up, duḥkha (i) is un-rest, commotion, and thus a characteristic of all that is phenomenal. (ii) duḥkha is pain, dis-harmony, the psychological counterpart of commotion. (iii) duḥkha is our sense of finitude, incompleteness, insufficiency. These are all inter-con-

⁶ VII - I - iii.

⁷ VII—23— i.

nected, one arises out of the other. The sense of finitude, insufficiency may be said to pervade all other senses.

If the sense in which duhkha is used in Indian philosophy is fully grasped, it will be seen that the charge of pessimism against Indian thinkers is absurd on the very face of it. The insufficiency of the finite is writ large on all that is phenomenal. To pursue that which is ever-shifting, never-staying is to invite pain and disharmony. Indian philosophy is not afraid of facing the stern reality, the bitter truth of duhkha, and of calling a spade a spade. It is no use shutting ourselves in a cocoon of illusion and trying to liquify hard facts with soft words.

Are we then doomed to a life of duhkha, without hope of help? Indian philosophy could have been characterized as pessimistic if it had maintained this. But this is just what it does not maintain. Every system of Indian philosophy recognizes the hard fact of duhkha, and points a way out of it. It gives the heartening message to man that it is open to him to regulate his life in such a way as to rise above duhkha. The Buddha taught the four truths, viz., duhkha, duhkha-samudaya (the cause of duhkha), dukkhanirodha (the cessation of duhkha), duhkha-nirodha-mārga (the way which leads to this cessation). So also does vyāsa say in his bhāṣya on the *yogasūtras* of Patañjali. यथा चिकित्साशास्त्रं चतुर्व्यूहम्—रोगो, रोगहेतुः, आरोग्यं, भैषज्यमिति । एवं इदमपि शास्त्रं चतुर्व्यूहमेव । तद्यथा संसारः, संसारहेतुः, मोक्षः, मोक्षोपाय इति ।⁸

So does Uddyotakara say in his *Nyāya-nārtika*: हेय-हानोपायाधिगन्तव्यभेदाच्चत्वार्यर्थपदानि सम्यग्बुद्ध्वा निःश्रेयसमधिगच्छतीति । हेयं दुःखं तस्य निर्वर्तकमविद्यातृष्णे धर्माधर्माविति । हानं तत्त्वज्ञानं तस्योपायः शास्त्रम् । अधिगन्तव्यो मोक्षः ।⁹

And he declares roundly: “एतानि चत्वार्यर्थपदानि सर्वासु अध्यात्मविद्यासु सर्वाचार्यैर्वर्ण्यन्त इति ।”⁹ These four truths have been described

⁸ P. 136, Chowkhamba edition.

⁹ P. 12, Chowkhamba edition.

in all the systems by all the Ācāryas.” Is all this pessimism ?

Indian philosophy recognizes the fact of duḥkha ; it does not try to explain it away, but at the same time, it emphatically maintains that duḥkha is not the destined end of man ; it only belongs to his phenomenal nature. His destiny is not duḥkha, but supreme bliss which he can attain to if he rises above the petty, personal life, if he is free from the selfish will for a separate self-aggrandisement, from the ego-centric point of view which impels him to grab at the part and ignore the whole. Nirvāṇa, Mukti can be experienced in this very life of ours.

Hear the triumphant words of the Buddha :

अनेक जाति संसारं संधाविस्सं अनिद्विस्सं ।
 गहकारकं गवेसन्तो दुक्खा जाति पुनप्पुनं ॥
 गहकारकं दिट्ठोऽसि पुन गेहं न काहसि ।
 सब्बा ते कासुकाभग्गा गहकूटं विसंखितं ।
 विसंखारगतं चित्तं तप्पहानं खयमञ्जगा ॥¹⁰

“ Through many’a round of birth and death I ran, seeking but not finding the builder of this house. Painful is repeated birth. O house-builder (i.e., तप्पहा craving), thou art seen. No more shalt thou build. Broken are all thy rafters (i.e., passions), thy ridge-pole (i.e., avidyā) is shattered. My mind has attained the unconditioned विसंखारगतं चित्तं ; achieved is the cessation of craving.” Duḥkha belongs to Saṅkhāra, but man can rise to the unconditioned (the asaṃskṛt state) and get rid of duḥkha for ever. So also Sāṅkhya and yoga maintain that duḥkha belongs to the life of man only so long as he is caught up in the whirligig of the three guṇas, but he attains to bliss supernal

¹⁰ *Dhammapada*—153—154.

when he becomes guṇātīta, when he transcends the fret and fever of the narrow personal life. This is also the burden of the song of Śrīkṛṣṇa. When man rises to Brāhmīsthiti, when he lives, *sub specie eternitatis*, only then is he free from the pain of incompleteness ; only then is he the full man. Fascinating as this theme is, I cannot enter into details, for it is beyond the scope of this paper.

The world-process is not a cruel joke. It is not a will fully laid trap for man to fall into and get crippled. No, resistance is essential to progress ; duḥkha, the burden of our finitude, the sense or imperfection serves as a divine discontent which makes us realize our insufficiency and rise to the higher life ; it makes us look before and after, and pine for what is not. So the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* says :

इत्येष प्रकृतिकृतो महदादिविशेषभूतपर्यन्तः ।

प्रतिपुरुषविमोक्षार्थं स्वार्थं इव परार्थं आरम्भः ॥¹¹

This play of Prakṛti is meant to awaken in us the sense of our true status, so that out of the incomplete personal life, may emerge finally the essential man, free from the limitations of the lower.

The bio-psychical man whose life is 'cabined, caged, and confined' within the limits of petty, paltry self, a narrow world of hopes, desires, fears and regrets, of lust and hate, ambition, envy, craving, speculation, curiosity, images and impressions is not the full, the essential man. The bio-psychical man is the veil and prophecy of the spiritual man. It is his mission, his destined end to realize that prophecy, so that the spiritual man may emerge in all his glory and enter his divine inheritance. It is the regeneration, resurrection of the spiritual man from the merely bio-psychical that is his

appointed goal and it is the regenerated, reborn man that is free from incompleteness, disharmony, pain. It is only then that, in the words of Browning,

The elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain.
Then a light--..

This is the teaching of Indian philosophy, this the clear paen of its music, the *leit-motif* of its song.

In the same vein St. Paul had said, "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain....waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God."¹² So also St. Augustine, "For thou, O Lord, hast made us for thyself, and our hearts are ever restless till they find their rest in Thee." Nobody has yet called these utterances pessimistic, and yet they are not in any way different from the teaching of Indian philosophy.

¹² Rom. VIII.

GOSVĀMIN ŚIVĀNANDA BHATṬA, HIS WORKS
AND DATE
IDENTIFICATION OF HIS TWO ROYAL PATRONS

By SADASHIVA L. KĀTRE

Evidently there have been numerous Sanskrit authors bearing the name Śivānanda. In this paper we are concerned only with Gosvāmin Śivānanda Bhaṭṭa, a voluminous author on Tantra, who, as the passages cited below will show, was the son of Jagannivāsa and grandson of Śrīnivāsa. However, some more Śivānandas also bearing the titles 'Bhaṭṭa' and 'Gosvāmin' have been mentioned differently by Aufrecht and others. But as their works¹ are not before me, it is not possible for me to decide whether any of them was or not identical with our Śivānanda.

Aufrecht mentions² only two works by our Śivānanda, viz., (1) the *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇārcākaumudī* and (2) the *Simhasiddhāntasindhu*. A third major work by him, viz., (3) the *Śrīvidyārcanacandrikā*, which I had not seen mentioned anywhere previously was recently traced out by me in the Manuscripts Library of the *Scindia Oriental Institute*, Ujjain.

Aufrecht had mentioned³ the *Mātangīmantrapaddhati* as an independent Tantra work by a different Śivānanda. However, the same has now come out⁴ to be only a section of our author's major work *Simhasiddhāntasindhu*.

¹ E.g., the *Vaidyaratna*, the *Titibīrṇaya*, etc.

² *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, Pp. 539^a, 655^a, 716^b; Vol. II, Pp. 171^a, 234^a.

³ CC, II, Pp. 103^a, 156^a.

⁴ H.D. Velankar: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛta MSS. in the Library of the BBRAS*, Vol. II (1928), P. 269^a, No. 864.

Further, a *Titthinirṇaya* is mentioned⁵ as a work by a different Śivānanda. I have not seen any MSS. of the same, but possibly it may prove out to be an extracted section of some major work by our author, since the topic is found dealt with from the Tāntrika's point of view at some length in his works (2) and (3).

The only MS. mentioned by Aufrecht of the *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇārcaḥkaumudī* is in the Bikaner Library. As I have not seen it, it is not possible for me to furnish any definite details regarding the work except that it contains⁶ five chapters (Prakāśas) and deals, obviously enough, with the Tantric worships of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, both jointly and separately. Probably it is an independent work and not a part of any other major work by the author, although we find the topic dealt with almost exhaustively in his works (2) and (3). To get a complete and thorough knowledge of the *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇārcaḥkaumudī* and to see if it, like the author's works (2) and (3), bears any historical importance we have to wait till the discovery of a fresh MS. thereof or the publication of the revised *Bikaner Library Catalogue* that has already been promised.

The *Simhasiddhāntasindhu* is a gigantic treatise on Tantra. Aufrecht records some MSS thereof while a few more⁷ have come to light subsequently. Still, generally the Ulwar MSS described by Peterson in his *Ulwar Library Catalogue* (1892), No. 2425, Extract No. 673, has been the main source on which Aufrecht⁸ and others⁹ have

⁵ CC, II, Pp. 203^b, 230^a.

⁶ P.V. Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I (1930), P. 616^a.

⁷ E.g., a MS containing only Chapters 1-14 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. *Vide* Chintaharana Chakravarti: *Revised Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of the RASB*, Vol. VIII, Part, I, No. 6193. *Vide* also Hiralal's C.P. and Berar MSS Catalogue, P. 578, *Madras Triennial Catalogue*, Vol. III B, R. No. 2580, etc.

⁸ CC, II, P. 234^f.

⁹ E.g., H.D. Velankar *BBRAS Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. II, P. 169.^a

hitherto drawn for their final information regarding this work. However, from a complete MS, recently acquired by me for the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute it is now possible to revise and amend our previous knowledge concerning this work.

The MS. under question (accession No. 6497) consists of 1027 straw-paper folios of the size $13\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Each side of the folios leaves a margin of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches on its four sides and bears on the average thirteen lines with about forty bold and elegant letters on each line. The ink used is dark-black and marks of red and yellow pigments, too, are found at several places. The script is Devanāgarī throughout, but in the end after the concluding colophon of the last chapter a sentence 'Śrīsundarīcaranāravindārpaṇam astu' appears in the Bengali script. The scribe's name and date are not mentioned, but the MS is old in appearance and has been scribed with considerable caution.

After an extensive introduction of 37 verses the author furnishes a detailed metrical index to the contents of the work. In the main body of the work we find an elaborate and exhaustive treatment of the various aspects of the hosts of Tantric topics, such as rules of conduct, restrictions, vows, etc., to be observed by a Tantra-sādhaka, Dikṣās, Mystic yantras, Mantras, etc., including their Bijas, Uddhāras, Siddhikarṇa, Japa, Puraścaraṇa, Anuṣṭhāna, etc., Upāsanaś and Pūjās including Āvāhana, Dhyāna, Sthāpanā or Prāṇapratiṣṭhā, Stuti, Balidāna, Havana, Visarjana, etc., the various Pujā-dravyas and their use, etc., relating to the various forms of Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Bhairava, Nara-siṃha, Dattātreya, Hayaśīras, Kārttavīrya, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Umā-Maheśvara, Śrī-Śakti, Sarasvatī, Bhairavī, Tārā, Bālā, Bagalā, Lalitā, Bhuvaneśvarī and other Deities. Scholastic and technical discussions concerning the vexed and knotty points of Tantra are found

almost at each step and the author throughout cites numerous authorities for supporting his statements and making his work as authoritative as possible. Among the works and authors cited by him here I could trace the following :—
अथशास्त्र, अगस्त्य, अगस्त्यसंहिता, अग्निपुराण, अग्निस्मृति, अङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आगमसिद्धान्त, आग्नेयपुराण, आचारार्क, आचार्यः, आचार्याः, आचार्यचरणाः, आथर्वणिक नृसिंहतापनीय, आदित्यपुराण, आदिवाराह, आपद्बुद्धारकस्तोत्र, आम्नायरहस्य, ईशान-शिव, ईशानसंहिता, उत्तरतन्त्र, ऋग्विधान, ऋग्वेद, एकवीराकल्प, कपिलपञ्चरात्र, कपिलवचन, करङ्गिणीतन्त्र, कर्पूरस्तवराज, कात्यायन, कात्यायनीतन्त्र, कात्यायनी-संहिता, कादिमत, कामधेनु, कामराजसंप्रदाय, कामिक, कारण, कार्तिकमाहात्म्य, कालत्रय, कालिकापुराण, कालिकोद्भव, कालीतन्त्र, कालोत्तर, कुब्जिकातन्त्र, कुब्जिका-मत, कुमारीकल्प, कुमारीतन्त्र, कुम्भसंभव, कुलचूडामणि, कुलप्रकाशतन्त्र, कुलमूलावतार, कुलार्णव, कुलावलीय, कुललापटल, कूर्मपुराण, केरलीय श्रीयन्त्रसार, कौलेशकोटिप्रभेद, क्रियासार, खिल, गणेशपरामर्शिनी, गणेश्वरपरामर्शिनी, गरुडपुराण, गर्ग, गान्धर्वतन्त्र, गीता, गुहकल्प, गुहकल्प, गोपालस्तवराज, गौतमीतन्त्र, गौतमीय, चतुर्विंशतिमत, चन्द्रपीठ, चिन्तामणि, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट, जयद्रथयामल, ज्ञानमाला, ज्ञानरत्नावली, ज्ञानार्णव, ज्ञानोन्नयन, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, ज्योतिषरत्नमाला, डामर, तत्त्वसार, तत्त्वसार-संहिता, तन्त्र, तन्त्रचूडामणि, तन्त्रराज, तापनीय, तारातन्त्र, ताराप्रदीप, ताराणव, तारिणी-तन्त्र, तिथितत्त्व, तूर्णापद्धति, तूर्णयाग, तैत्तिरीयशाखा, तोतलमत, तोतलामत (= तोतलतन्त्र), त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, त्रिपुराणव, त्रिपुरासारसमुच्चय, त्रैलोक्यडामरूतन्त्र, त्रैलोक्यविजय, त्रैलोक्यसंमोहनतन्त्र, त्रैलोक्यसार, दक्ष, दक्षिणामूर्ति, दक्षिणामूर्तिकल्प, दक्षिणामूर्तिमहिता, दशपटली, दिव्यसारस्वततन्त्र, देवल, देवीतन्त्र, देवीपुराण, देवीयामल, देव्यागम, देवज्ञमनोहर, धर्मयामल, धर्मसार, नन्दिकेश्वर, नन्दिपुराण, नवरत्नेश्वर, नारद, नारदपञ्चरात्र, नारायणीय, नारायणोपनिषद्, निबन्ध, नीरतन्त्र, नीलतन्त्र, नीलसारस्वत, नृसिंहकल्प, नृसिंहतापनीय, नृसिंहपुराण, पञ्चमीश्वरीतन्त्र, पञ्चमीस्तव-राज, पञ्चरात्र, पदार्थादर्श, पद्मपादाचार्य, पद्मपुराण, पद्मवाहिनी, पराशर, पाद्म, पारि-जात, पिङ्गलामत, पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, पौष्कर, प्रकाशोदय, प्रतिष्ठापद्धति, प्रतिष्ठासार-संग्रह, प्रतिष्ठासारस्वत, प्रथमतन्त्र, प्रपञ्चसार, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजातसंग्रह, प्रयोगसार, ब्रह्मसंहिता, फेत्कारिणीतन्त्र, फेत्कारितन्त्र, फेत्कारीय, बह्वचपरिशिष्ट, बह्वचप्रातिशाख्य, बृहन्नारदीय, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, ब्रह्मपुराण, ब्रह्मयामल, ब्रह्माण्ड-पुराण, ब्रह्मोत्तरखण्ड, ब्राह्म, भगवद्भवन, भट्टचरणाः, भविष्य, भविष्यत्पुराण, भाव-चूडामणि, भुवनेशीपारिजात, भुवनेश्वरीजातक, भुवनेश्वरीपारिजात, भूतडामर, भैरवयामल, भैरवसंवाद, भैरवीतन्त्र, भैरवीप्रकरण, मत्स्यसूक्त, मत्स्येन्द्रसंहिता, मदन-पारिजात, मनु, मनोरमा, मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश, मन्त्रतन्त्रराज, मन्त्रप्रकाश, मन्त्रमहोदधि, मन्त्रमुक्तावली, मन्त्ररत्नावली, मन्त्रशास्त्र, मन्त्रसद्भाव, मन्त्रसारसंग्रह, मन्त्रार्णव, मय,

मरीचि, महाकपिलपञ्चरात्र, महाभारत, महासंमोहनतन्त्र, महाहारकतन्त्र, माघमाहात्म्य, मातङ्गमनुकोश, मातङ्गीस्तोत्र, मातृकार्णव, माधवभट्ट, मायातन्त्र, मार्कण्डेय, मार्कण्डेयकल्प, मार्कण्डेयपुराण, मुण्डमालातन्त्र, मूर्तिरहस्य मृडानीतन्त्र, मोहशूरोत्तर, यन्त्रसार, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, याज्ञवल्क्यसंहिता, यामल, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, योगशास्त्र, योगशिवमत, योगसार-स्तोत्र, योगार्णव, योगिनीतन्त्र, योगिनीहृदय, योगियाज्ञवल्क्य, रत्नसागर, रत्नावली, रसग्रन्थ, रामानुस्मृति, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, रुद्रयामल, रेखाखण्ड, लक्षणसंग्रह, लक्षसागर, लक्ष्मीकुलार्णव, लघुहारीत, ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका, ललितविलास, लिङ्गपुराण, लोपा-मुद्रांगस्त्यसंप्रदाय, वक्रतुण्डकल्प, वसिष्ठ, वसिष्ठसंहिता, वल्लिपुराण, वामकेश्वरतन्त्र, वामदेवतन्त्र, वामदेवमहातन्त्र, वायवीयसंहिता, वाराहपुराण, वाराहीतन्त्र, वाराहीय, वाराहीसंहिता, वासिष्ठकल्प, वासिष्ठलैङ्ग, वासिष्ठी, वास्तुशास्त्र, विजयमालिनीतन्त्र, विजयमालिनीतन्त्र, विज्ञानमाला, विनायकसंहिता, विशुद्धेश्वरतन्त्र, विश्वकर्मन, विश्व-रहस्य, विश्वसार, विष्णु, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुपुराण, विष्णुयामल, वीरतन्त्र, वीरागम, बृद्धमनु, वैद्यकशास्त्र, वैशम्पायन, वैशम्पायनसंहिता, वैष्णवस्तोत्र, वैहायसपञ्चरात्र, वैहायसमन्त्रकोश, व्यास, शंकराचार्य, शङ्ख, शङ्खलिखित, शांकरकल्प, शान्तिक, शाट्यायन, शारदा, शारदातिलक, शारदातिलकटीका (anonymous), शारदातिलक-टीका (माधवभट्टकृता), शिल्पशास्त्र, शिवताण्डवतन्त्र, शिवधर्म, शिवयामल, शिवरहस्य, शिवस्तोत्र, शिवागम, शैवदीक्षा, शैवपुराण, शैवागम, शौनक, श्राद्धकल्प, श्रीकण्ठसंहिता, श्रीकुलार्णव, श्रीक्रमसंहिता, श्रीज्ञानार्णव, श्रीतन्त्रराज, श्रीमनोरमा, श्रीयन्त्रसार, श्रीयोगिनीतन्त्र, श्रीविद्यादीक्षा, श्रीसंमोहनतन्त्र, षडन्वयमहारत्न, संहिता, सनत्कुमार-कल्प, सैनकुमारीय, संमोहनतन्त्र, संमोहनपञ्चरात्र, सांख्यायन, सारसंग्रह, सारस्वत-मत, सिद्धयामल, सिद्धसारस्वततन्त्र, सिद्धान्तशेखर, सिद्धेश्वरीतन्त्र, सूर्यसहस्रनामस्तोत्र, सोमशम्भु, सोमसिद्धान्त, सौत्रामणीतन्त्र, स्कन्दपुराण, स्कन्दयामल, स्कान्द, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिरत्नावली, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, स्मृतिसंग्रह, स्मृत्यर्थसार, स्वच्छन्दसंग्रह, स्वतन्त्र, स्वार्थ-भव, हंसपारमेश्वर, हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्र, हरिद्रागणेशकवच, हरिवंश, हरिहरात्मकस्तोत्र, हारीत, and हेमाद्रि. Almost each one of these has been quoted tens or even scores of times in the work. On Folios 920-926 we find reproduced in full the *Mahāvīdyāpramodalaharī*, an elaborate and learned Stotra consisting of 35 verses of long metres in praise of Śakti, composed by Śivānanda himself.

.. R. L. Mitra's Notice No. 1621¹⁰ describes the *Simbasiddhāntasindhu* as "a handbook of Vaiṣṇava religious duties, diurnal, periodical and optical, including

10. *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. IV (1878), P. 197.

the several feasts and fasts enjoined in the Vaiṣṇava Calendar.” This is an imperfect and misleading description, not justified even on the basis of the MSS used which leave out several chapters both in the beginning and in the end. In fact, Vaiṣṇava Tantra engages only a small portion of the work which deals at length with the Tantras concerning all the important sectarian deities and allots a major bulk to Śaiva, Śākta, Kaulika and other Tantras. Probably the title ‘Goṣvāmin’ of the author was responsible for the said description in the Notice.

Hitherto the Ulwar MS of this work, described by Peterson and containing chapters (= Taraṅgas) 1 -- 88, has been taken to be a perfect MS. However, on a minute perusal of our MS and comparison thereof with the details furnished by Peterson, I have to say that the Ulwar MS is not a complete MS as it ends only with a chapter colophon and leaves out the subsequent four chapters 89-92 found in our MS. As at the close of chap. 92 the author furnishes a metrical conclusion to the whole work and therein also accords his date of composition, we may be sure that ours is a perfect MS and that the work does not go beyond chap. 92.

As the author’s lengthy introduction in this work has already been cited in full by Peterson and others, I cite here from the same in our MS only such passages as are essential for fixing some relevant data :—

(Verses 1—6 contain salutations to Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī and Sarasvatī. Other verses left out simply continue the glorification of the heroes mentioned in preceding verses cited).

.....

दृप्यद्वैरिरामुच्चयक्षयकरः कीर्तिद्युतिद्योतिता—

शेषाकाशदिगन्तरः पटुतरः प्राज्ञीषवित्तार्पणे ।

राजद्राजसभासभाजितगुणग्रामाभिरामो भृशं

भक्तः श्रीनृहरेर्विभाति भुवने ‘बुन्देल’भूपान्वयः ॥ ७ ॥

यत्पाणी नृहरेः सदेव चरणावानर्चतुः सादरं
दाने चाङ्घ्रियुगं महीदिविषदां प्रक्षालयाञ्चक्रतुः ।
युद्धे चिक्षिपनुश्च मार्गणगणं हन्तुं परानीकिनीं
त्रैलोक्यप्रथिताह्वयो 'मधुकरो' राजा स यत्राभवत् ॥ ८ ॥

सन्मानदाननिपुणस्तु तदात्मजन्मा सन्मानसस्थहरिभक्तिरुदारशक्तिः ।
कौशेयकक्षतविपक्षजनो जगत्यां 'श्रीरामसाहि'रिति नाम नृपो बभूव ॥ ११ ॥
आसीत्तदीयतनयो विनयोपपन्नः स्वच्छाशयो बहुदयो विबुधव्रजेयः ।
युद्धे निकाममभयो विजयार्जितश्रीः 'संग्रामसाहि'रिति भूमिपतिः प्रसिद्धः ॥ १४ ॥
तस्यात्मजो बलरजोभररुद्धभानुर्दृप्तद्विषद्वलनतीव्रमहः कृशानुः ।
अत्यद्भुतो गुणगणैः प्रथितो धरण्यां 'श्रीभारतो' बहुलदानरतो बभूव ॥ १६ ॥

तत्सूनुः परिपन्थिमन्थिविलसद्वारोऽतिधीरो रणे
वल्गुतुङ्गनुरङ्गनिष्ठुरखुरक्षुण्णक्षमामण्डलः ।
दानाम्भः शमिताधिर्नैः स्वदहनः ख्याताभिधानः क्षिती
'देवीसिंह'नरेश्वरो निरुपमो राजोत्तमो राजते ॥ २२ ॥

'देवीसिंह' ! महीमहेन्द्र ! भवतः प्रौढप्रतापोदय—
त्रासादोज्झ परस्परं क्षितितले वरं समस्तेनरैः ।
तच्चित्रं न यतस्त्वदीयविदुषां गेहेषु वासोऽनिशं
हित्वान्योन्यविरोधमद्भुततमो देव्योरपि श्रीगिरोः ॥ २५ ॥

आसीत्तस्य गुरु¹¹गुरुगुणगणैर्मन्त्राब्धिपारंगमः
'श्रीगोस्वामिजगन्निवास' इति सन्नाम्ना जगद्विश्रुतः ।
यस्याज्ञावशवर्तिनः क्षितिभुजस्ते तेऽभवन्भूरिशो
येषां कीर्तिरतीव भाति भुवने दाने कृपाणोऽपि च ॥ ३३ ॥

तत्तातस्तु तथाभवद्भवसमः 'श्रीश्रीनिवासः' कृती
ज्ञानोदारकुठारदारितजगज्जाड्योहभूमिरुहः ।
नानातन्त्रविबोधमाप्य मनुजा यस्यानुकम्पानिधेः
शिष्या दैवतसेवनैरभिमतामह्णाय सिद्धिं गताः ॥ ३४ ॥

यस्याङ्घ्रिपद्मकृपया प्रथितः पृथिव्यामेतादृगेव जयति स्म 'जगन्निवासः' ।
यः सर्वसिद्धिसहितो जगति द्विजानां तोषं व्यधादविरतं विविधोपकारैः ॥ ३५ ॥

¹¹ The Ulwar MS as cited by Peterson appears to read आसीत्तस्य गुरोर्गुरुः etc., making Jagannivāsa grand-preceptor, and not preceptor, of Devisirṃha. It is, however, not a happy reading since the instrumental form गुणगणैः remains loose therein. As per reading in our MS, the instrumental is easily connected with the second गुरुः meaning Br̥haspati.

ज्येष्ठस्तस्य सुतो जनोदित'शिवानन्दा'भिधानः क्षितौ
 श्रोविद्याचरणारविन्दयुगलध्यानैकतानोऽनिशम् ।
 'देवोसिंह'नृपेण धर्मकलितस्वान्तेन संप्राथित—
 स्तत्प्रोत्यै वितनोति धार्मिकजनश्रव्यं निबन्धोत्तमम् ॥३६॥
 गुरुचरणसरोजानुग्रहप्राप्यबोधः
 श्रवणजनितभक्तस्वान्तभूरिप्रमोदः ।
 निखिलमनुरहस्योद्बोधकोज्यं निबन्धो
 जयति जगति नाम्ना 'सिंहसिद्धान्तसिन्धुः' ॥३७॥

अत्र प्रातःकृत्यमादौ etc.

The work concludes in our MS as follows :—

.....इति तन्त्ररात्रे नित्याकवचम् ॥
 प्रोक्तं गणेशप्रमुखामराणामुपासनाया निखिलं विधानम् ।
 विलोक्य तच्चेतसि साधकानामात्मन्यमन्दो भवतात्प्रमोदः ॥१॥
 'चन्द्रवह्नितुरगैक'संमिते वत्सरे सहसि शुक्लपक्षतौ ।
 शीतारश्मिसुतवासरे शुभे ग्रन्थ एष परिपूर्णतामगात् ॥२॥
 इति 'श्र.गोस्वामिश्रीजगन्निवासात्मजगोस्वामिश्र.शिवानन्दभट्ट'विरचिते ।
 'सिंहसिद्धान्तसिन्धौ' द्विनवतितमस्तरङ्गः ९२॥ श्रीसुन्दरीचरणारविन्दार्पणमस्तु ॥

The details furnished by the above extracts will be discussed below jointly after dealing with the author's third work.

The only MS known to me of Śivānanda's *Śrīvidyār-canacandrikā* forms Accession No. 5611 of the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute. It consists of 325 straw-paper folios of the size 10 × 6½ inches. Each page of the folios leaves a margin of about an inch on its four sides, is marked with border-lines in red or dark-black ink on two sides and contains on the average fourteen to fifteen lines with about thirty-eight Devanāgarī letters on each line. Dark-black ink is used for the text throughout and marks of red and yellow pigments are visible everywhere. Two scribes appear to have cooperated in scribing this MS. Folios 1—204 and 295b—325 being written by the main scribe and Folios 205—295a by another scribe. The handwriting of the main scribe is good and that of the other clumsy and the MS on the whole generally furnishes

correct readings. The scribes' names are not mentioned, but the main scribe records his date in his concluding colophon as follows :—

.....समाप्तमिदं ॥ श्रीमहाविद्यामन्त्रोद्धारार्चनपुरश्चरणादिप्रमाणं ॥
श्रीमहात्रिपुरसुन्दरीचरणाम्बुजापितमस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ शके १७९९ संवत् १९३४ मार्ग-
शीर्ष वद्य ८ गृहवासरे लेखनं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

The MS was thus completed on Thursday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year 1934 of the Vikrama era, i.e. c. January 1878 A.C. and is only 68 years old.

This, too, is a major Tantra work containing eighteen chapters (Prakāśas) of varied dimensions. As regards its contents, it traverses almost the same fields as the *Simbasiddhāntasindhu* but with special reference to Śāktism. To be brief, it furnishes in a well-arranged form and exhaustive manner everything (e.g., Śākta Mantras along with their Bijas, Uddhāras, etc., Japa, Puraścaraṇa etc., preparation of Śriyantras, etc., various Śakti worships and the matters pertaining thereto, Tantric Tarpaṇa, Śrāddha, etc., Tithinirṇaya, Muhūrta, etc.) required by the Śāktas, including the Kaulikas, in their daily, periodical and incidental rites and can be easily described as a guide-book for Śākta Tantra. This work, too, exhibits the author's vast erudition and knowledge everywhere. Although in bulk it is only about one-third of the *Simbasiddhāntasindhu*, we find herein cited, though less number of times, almost all the authorities cited in the latter, plus several additional authorities. Among these additional authorities I could trace the following :—

अष्टचक्रेश्वर, आगमकल्पद्रुम, आगमसार, उदयाकरपद्धति, ऊर्ध्वाम्नाय, कामुकलाविलास, कारणागम, कुलतत्त्वसार, कुलतन्त्र, कुलामम, कौलिकतन्त्र, गवाक्ष-
तन्त्र, गोभिल, गोरक्षसंहिता, गौतमसंहिता, गौरीयामल, चामुण्डमाला, चामुण्डातन्त्र,
चिद्गगनचन्द्रिका, ज्ञानावतार, तत्त्वविमर्शिनी, तत्त्वसागरसंहिता, तन्त्ररत्नावली, तन्त्रसार-
संग्रह, तन्त्रार्णव, त्रिकूटारहस्य, त्रिपुरपद्यावली, त्रिपुरामहार्णव, त्रिपुरेशीतन्त्र, त्रैपुरपद्य-

वाहिनी, त्रैपुरवाहिनी, त्रैलोक्यमोहनतन्त्र, नारदीयकल्प, नित्यातन्त्र, पञ्चमीयामल, पद्मवाहिनी, पिङ्गलमत, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, पीष्टिक त्रिकूटारहस्य, बृहच्छ्रीक्रम, भगवद्वाक्य, भुजङ्गवली, भैरवतन्त्र, मन्त्रचूडामणि, महाषोडशार्णा, मातङ्गतन्त्र, मानसोल्लास, मालिनी-तन्त्र, राजमार्तण्ड, लक्षणनिर्णय, लघ्वाचार्यचरणाः, विक्रमस्तोत्र, विज्ञानेश्वर, विद्यानन्द-नाथ, वैष्णवतन्त्र, शिवानन्दनाथ,¹² शौनकसंहिता, श्रीतन्त्र, श्रीपराक्रम, श्रीप्रकाशोदय, श्रीविद्याक्रमस्तोत्र, षट्शती, संवादसूक्त, संकेतपद्धति, सनत्कुमारसंहिता, समयाचारतन्त्र, समयातन्त्र, सारसर्वस्व, सुभगोदय, सुभगोदयदर्पण, स्वच्छन्दभैरव, स्वच्छन्दमाहेश्वर ।

The *Śrīvidyārcanacandrikā*, too, is prefixed with a lengthy introduction the main important portion whereof is extracted below¹² :—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

प्रारम्भेऽखिलकर्मणां विधिमुखा देवा यदाराधनात्

सिद्धिं प्राप्नुतुत्तमां प्रथमतो यः स्मर्यते श्रेयसे ।

यस्मादन्यसुरस्य कस्यचिदपि प्रत्यूहनिर्नाशिनी

नास्ते तादृशशक्तिरद्भुतगुणं तं नौमि लम्बोदरम् ॥१॥

कृपापारावारं त्रिपुरहरसारङ्गनयना—

महःसारं रम्योल्लसदरुणनारङ्गसदृशम् ।

कलागारं तारं मणिरचितहारं हृदि दध—

द्गुणोद्गारं नीपद्रुमवनविहारं विजयताम् ॥२॥

कलाशाला कालागरुविहृतपत्रालिसुभगा

प्रवालाभा गात्रे सुमरुचिविशालाक्षरुचिरा ।

कुचद्वन्द्वासक्तोत्पलरचितमाला मनसि मे

पुरारातेर्बाला विधुशकलमाला विजयते ॥३॥

अथ राजवंशवर्णनम् ॥

गर्विष्ठारातिवृन्दोद्दलनदृढतरः कीर्तिचन्द्रातपोद्य—

त्कान्तिस्वेतीकृताशः पटुमतिविदितानेकशास्त्रोत्तमार्थः ।

दत्तार्थिनातमत्तद्विपहयनिवहस्तीव्रतेजोनिवासो

लोकख्याताभिधानः स जयति वसुधामण्डले 'सूर्यवंशः' ॥४॥

¹² Vide ".....तत्प्रकारमाह शानार्णवे—करशुद्धिकरीं विद्यां मध्यमादितलान्तकम् । अङ्गुलीषु द्विरावृत्त्या करशुद्धिरिति प्रिये ॥ अङ्गुलीष्विति करयोर्द्वैगपदिति शेषः । अयमेवात्र स्थितिक्रम इति 'सुभगोदयदर्पणे' ॥ 'श्रीशिवानन्दनाथः' ॥ इति बीजत्रयावृत्त्या मध्यमादितलान्तकम् । करशुद्धिविधिं कुयोव स्थितिन्यासक्रमेण तु ॥ तथा च बाणबोयसंहिताय, etc." (—Folio 64.)

It is not clear if this Śivānandanātha is meant to be associated with the work *Subbhagodayadarpaṇa*. Anyhow, he appears to be different from our Śivānanda who cites him in this manner.

यो गम्भीरतया जिगाय जलधि धर्मेण धर्मात्मजं
 वक्तृत्वेन बृहस्पतिं कवितया काव्यं श्रिया श्रीपतिम् ।
 कीर्त्या कैरविनीपतिं प्रभुतया पृथ्वीशितारं पृथुं
 तत्रोदारगुणान्वितः स नृपतिः 'श्रीमानसिंहो'ऽभवत् ॥५॥
 विप्रेभ्यो हरयो रयोजिततमा येनापिता भूरिशो
 मातङ्गा मदशालिनः परचमूविध्वंसभीमाः पुनः ।
 वृष्टिः स्वर्णमयी कृता कृतधियां गेहेषु धन्यात्मना
 तद्दानं कथमेकया रसनया स्तोतुं भवेयं विभुः ॥७॥
 युद्धे युद्धविशारदः परिलसद्दोर्दण्डचण्डोच्चण—
 द्वाणव्याहतवैरिवर्गपृतनां निर्मथ्य वित्तोत्करम् ।
 लुण्ठित्वाधिगणाय नित्यमददाद्यः सद्य उद्यन्मुदा
 पूर्णस्तत्तनयोऽभवद्भुवि 'जगत्सिहा'ख्यया विश्रुतः ॥७॥
 तस्मादुत्तमतेजसः क्षितिपतेरासीन्महाविक्रमः
 संग्रामेष्वपरिश्रमः सुमतिभिः प्रीतात्मभिर्वर्णितः ।
 नित्यं तोषितपण्डितो वसुभरैर्धर्मैकतानाक्षयो
 नानादन्तिहयप्रदो भुवि 'महासिहा'भिधानो नृपः ॥८॥
 चञ्चच्चण्डकरोच्छलज्जलभरैः प्रक्षालयन्तस्तमः
 कुर्वाणा मदवारिभिर्वसुमती चक्रे महादुर्दिनम् ।
 विभ्राणा धरणीधरोन्नहवपुः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपति—
 ब्राताघातमहोद्धताः प्रतिबुधं येनापिता दन्तिनः ॥९॥
 यः शक्त्या निजया प्रचण्डतरया तूर्णं निहत्य द्विषो
 योधानीततदीयवित्तनिचयैर्विप्रान्सदा प्रीणयन् ।
 विश्वं विश्वमतीवनिर्मलगुणैर्यो मण्डयन्सततं
 तस्माच्छी'जयसिंह' इत्यभिधया ख्यातोऽभवद्भूमिपः ॥१०॥
 तस्मात्प्रादुरभूत्प्रतापमहिमा सिन्धोर्यथा चन्द्रमाः
 कीर्त्या चन्द्रिकया समस्तभुवनं निन्ये परां शुभ्रताम् ।
 लोकस्वान्तकुमुद्वतीशकुशलस्तन्वन् सुधासंनिभा
 वाचः साधुचकोरसंमदकरीः 'श्रीरामसिंहो' नृपः ॥११॥
 प्रत्यर्थिब्राताघातप्रबलभुजयुगच्चण्डमार्तण्डतेजा
 दर्पदन्त्यश्चशश्वद्वितरणविलसत्कीर्तिशुभ्रीकृताशः ।
 गेहे गेहे कबीन्द्रैः प्रमुदितहृदयैः स्तूयमानः प्रकामं
 भूलोकख्यातनामा क्षितिपतितिलको 'रामसिंहो' बभूव ॥१२॥
 लोके यस्य प्रतापो दिनमणिमिषतो व्याततान प्रकाशं
 पूर्णेन्दुव्याजतश्चाशमयदिह तमःसंचयं यद्यशोऽपि ।

इत्थं प्रोद्यत्प्रतापो बहुविशदयशाः श्लोक्यमानो बुधौघै—

स्तस्मात्प्रादुर्बभूव क्षितिपतिपटलीसेवितः 'कृष्णसिंहः' ॥१३॥

दाने कल्पतरूपमो भुजबले श्रीभीमसेनोपमो

रूपे पञ्चशरोपमो नयविधौ साक्षात्सुरेज्योपमः ।

सत्ये धर्मसुतोपमो रणमखे श्रीरामचन्द्रोपमः

पुण्ये पुण्यपृथूपमोऽवनितले 'श्रीकृष्णसिंहो'ऽभवत् ॥१४॥

श्रीदुर्गादेवतायाः प्रगुणगुणगणख्यापने यस्य जिह्वा

कणौ नित्यं कथायां हृदयमपि पदध्यान एवानुसक्तम् । "

हस्तौ पूजाविधाने नयनयुगमपि प्रेक्षणे चोत्सवाना—

मोदक्षः शाक्तवर्यः समजनि धरणी धार्मिकः 'कृष्णसिंहः' ॥१५॥

येन द्राग् द्रविणानि मौक्तिकमणीमिश्राणि विश्राणिता—

न्यर्थिभ्यो विपुला हया मदकला दत्ताश्च दन्तावलाः ।

कीर्त्या चोज्ज्वलयोज्ज्वलीकृतमिदं सर्वं जगन्मण्डलं

वर्यः स्यात्स 'नृपालरामतनयः' 'श्रीकृष्णसिंहः' कथम् ॥१६॥

ईशानस्य षडाननः सुरपतेः श्रीमाञ्जयन्तो यथा

गर्वग्रन्थिलवैरिवर्गविजयी विश्वोल्लसद्विक्रमः ।

एवं 'श्रीप्रभुकृष्णसिंहतनयो' विख्याततत्तद्गुणो

राजाधीश्वर'विष्णुसिंह'नृपतिलोकिऽत्र विद्योत्यते ॥१७॥

.....

(Verses 18—26 continue the eulogy of the Viṣṇusimha)

.....

यो योद्धा यमुपासते नृपतयो येनार्जितं सद्यशो

यस्मै च स्पृहयन्ति नीरजदृशो यस्मान्न रम्यः स्मरः ।

यस्य प्रेम शिवार्चनेऽनवरतं यस्मिन्ननेके गुणाः

स त्वं श्रीनृप'विष्णुसिंह' ! सुचिरं जीव द्विजाशीर्गणैः ॥२६॥

पौत्रः श्रीगिरिशोपमस्य कृतिनः 'श्री'श्रनिवासस्य' यः

पुत्रः 'स्वामिजगन्निवास'विदुषो वागीशतुल्यस्य यः ।

आस्ते तस्य महेश्वरस्य स गुरुः श्रीमुन्दरीपूजन—

ध्यानासक्तमना भृशं भुवि 'शिवानन्दा'भिवानः सुधीः ॥२७॥

प्रार्थितः 'श्रीशिवानन्दो' 'विष्णुसिंह'महीभुजा ।

करोति तत्प्रमोदाय 'श्रीविद्यार्चनचन्द्रिकाम्' ॥२८॥

श्रीविद्योपदेशानन्तरं पूजनादेः कर्तव्यत्वादादौ सर्वेऽपि श्रीमूलविद्याभेदाः श्री-
कामेश्वरमन्त्रपुरःसराः समुद्दिष्यन्ते etc.'

The work end as follows :—

..... इति कुलाचारनिरूपणम् ॥

इति श्रीगोस्वामिसकलभूषालमौलिमणिमरीचिनिचयनीराजितचरणसरोज-
मुनिद्वन्द्वमितविद्याप्रिलासविधानविचक्षणद्रविडवंशावतंसायमानश्रीनिवासाङ्गजश्र्व. जग-
न्निवासजन्मश्रीशिवानन्दविरचितायां श्रीविद्यार्चनचन्द्रिकायामष्टादशः प्रकाशः ॥
समाप्तमिदं ॥ etc.

From the passages extracted above we can get a tolerable glimpse at the personality and environments of our Śivānanda. He came of a Draviḍa Brahmana family which, though originally hailing from the South, appears to have lately migrated to some unnamed place in the North. Śivānanda, his father Jagannivāsa and grandfather Śrīnivāsa all appear to be profound Paṇḍitas, highly proficient in various Tantras and each possessing a band of pupils and spiritual disciples. Among the latter, especially Śivānanda and Jagannivāsa appear to have some prominent contemporary princes who admired them highly for their learning and efficiency in Mantrasāstra and naturally made them receptacles of their rich royal patronages. Notably enough, Śivānanda, the eldest son of Jagannivāsa, applies the title 'Gosvāmin' only to his own and Jagannivāsa's names and not to Śrīnivāsa's name as well.¹³ Further, Śākta Tantra is associated here especially with Śivānanda alone who describes himself as ever mentally engrossed in the Tantric adoration of Śrīvidyā or Śakti.

As regards Śivānanda's Tantra encyclopaedias, one is at once impressed even by their numerousness of contents, volume and bulk, not to speak of their quality and originality which can be judged only by scholars well-versed in the techniques of various Tantras. It is also noteworthy

¹³. From the materials called by me recently I am shortly contributing a paper separately to prove the identity of Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Śivārcanacandrikā* and other works (vide CC, I, P. 670^b, etc.), with Śivānanda's grandfather and of Janādana, the author of the *Mantracandrikā* (vide CC I, Pp. 198^a, 429^b; II, Pp. 40^a, 98^a), with a younger brother of Śivānanda.

that several sources of his citations are unknown to the three volumes of Aufrecht's CC.

Luckily, Śivānanda mentions his own date at the close of the *Simhasiddhāntasindhu* which is being noticed now probably for the first time. He finished that work on Wednesday, the first day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year 1731 (of the Vikrama era) i.e., 1. December 1674 A.C. Although the MS of the *Śrīvidyārcanacandrikā* does not mention the author's date, that work is definitely later than the *Simhasiddhāntasindhu* and must be assigned to 1699 A.C. on the strength of the identity of the author's second royal patron proved below. Even ignoring the said identity, the sequence of the two works is easily made clear on the consideration that Śivānanda composed the *Simhasiddhāntasindhu* at the instigation of his father's disciple Devisīmha, whose name its title is designed to commemorate, and the *Śrīvidyārcanacandrikā* at the instigation of his own disciple Viṣṇusīmha.

In his introductions the author only assigns his two patrons to respective royal dynasties and mentions a few ancestors of each. He does not name their respective capital towns or exact dominions. His long and almost uniform descriptions of the heroes and of their ancestors, though polished literary pieces, are generally confined to their excessive valour, extreme munificence to the Brāhmaṇas and the learned, ardent devotion to God and religion, charming personality, admirable literary habits, unrivalled fame, etc., and furnish very few specific details useful in establishing their exact identity.

Still, Devisīmha, who is described as a Bundela king flourishing about 1674 A.C. and the genealogy of whose line is mentioned in the order Madhukara-Rāmasāhi-Saṁigrāmasāhi-Bhārata-Devisīmha by Śivānanda, can with utmost precision be identified with Devisingh Bundela of Chanderi.

Raja Madhukara,¹⁴ Devisingh's great-great-grandfather, was a renowned ruler (1554-1592 A.C.) of the main Bundela State of Orchha and his cenotaph,¹⁵ too, is below the fort of Orchha on the edge of the river Betwa. On his death in 1592 in the course of a warfare against the Mughal forces of Akbar, Rām Sāha,¹⁶ his eldest son, succeeded him and held the throne of Orchha till 1604 when he was deprived of his sovereignty as a result of his own weakness and others' intrigues. His younger but far more celebrated brother Bir Singh Deo, who had espoused the cause of Jahangir by murdering Abul Fazal, was installed as Raja of Orchha (1605-1627) by that Emperor who for a time confined Rām Sāha at Delhi but subsequently released him about 1606 and presented him with the fief of Chanderi. Thenceforth Rām Sāha¹⁷ and his descendants for several generations ruled from Chanderi, as governors on behalf of the Mughal Emperors till Aurangzeb's death and subsequently as independent kings till 1811¹⁸ or 1815¹⁹ when Chanderi was captured by Jean Baptiste Filose for his master Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia. The present representatives of this line of Bundela Rajas are probably living²⁰ at Datia as pensioners. A complete list of these chiefs of Chanderi is furnished by M. B. Garde in his historical narrative.²¹ of Chanderi and it fully agrees with Śivānanda's list so far as the latter goes. However, Mr. Garde's narrative assigns

¹⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India* (1908), P. 349.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, P. 355.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, P. 349. In fact, Madhukara's eldest son was Horal Deo, but he had been killed in a battle in 1577.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, P. 165.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, P. 165.

¹⁹ M. B. Garde: *A Guide to Chanderi* (1928), P. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid*, P. 15.

²¹ *Ibid*, PP. 14-15, footnote 8. These names are:—(1) Ram Saha—1606-1628, (2) Sangram Saha—1628-1642, (3) Bharat Saha—1642-1654, (4) Devi Singh—1654-1663, (5) Durga Singh—1663-1687, etc.

Devi Singh Bundela to the period 1654-1663 and the *Central India* volume of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (p. 165) states that Devi Singh Bundela was appointed governor of Chanderi in 1680. The dates furnished at these two places conflict with each other and both appear to be erroneous in the light of the contemporary evidence furnished by Śivānanda who clearly describes Devīśimha as a living ruler in 1674.

The identification of Śivānanda's Devīśimha with Devi Singh Bundela of Chanderi is justified on some other grounds, too. The patron's line is described in the above extracts as closely attached to God Narasimha. As corroborating this description we find²² the beautiful temple of Narasimha in the town of Chanderi to have been built by the local Bundela chiefs. Devīśimha appears to have patronised some other authors as well. We already know²³ one Mohanabhaṭṭa, also called Kavipaṇḍita, who under this very Devīśimha's instructions composed an artificial epic entitled *Kaṁsavaśiṣa-mahākāvya* consisting of twenty-one cantos and intended to give practical illustrations in Grammar while depicting the life of Kṛṣṇa upto the slaughter of Kaṁsa. At the end of this epic the poet furnishes a more exhaustive genealogy of Devīśimha's ancestors also including ten predecessors of Madhukara.

Śivānanda's other patron Viṣṇuśimha, too, can be precisely identified in history, although with some difficulty. The author, one of whose works was completed in 1674 A.C., terms himself as guru or spiritual preceptor of this prince who is said to come of a solar dynasty and to be a devout worshipper of Durgā and whose predecessors are mentioned in the ascending order Kṛṣṇasimha (described as a staunch Śākta or ardent devotee of Durgā, etc.),

²² *Ibid.* Pp. 39, 44.

²³ *BBRAS Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol II, P. 331f., No. 11.63

Rāmasimha, Jayasimha, Mahāsimha, Jagatsimha and Mānasimha (described as a poet, orator, etc.). Each successor is described here as son of his predecessor. The patron is definitely identical with the Cutchwaha prince Bishen Singh²⁴ of Amber who on his death in 1699 was succeeded to the throne by Sevaī Jai Singh (1699-1743), the celebrated patron of letters and founder of modern Jaipur.

The Cutchwahas claim a Solar descent²⁵ and in Tod's Annals of Amber²⁶ we find most of the names given by Śivānanda among those of Bishen Singh's immediate predecessors, in almost the same order though not always in the relation of son and father. Man Singh, Raja of Amber and an outstanding personality in Akbar's Imperial Court, died about 1615 and was succeeded by his son Bhao Singh²⁷ who on his death in 1621 was succeeded by his son Maha Singh. Maha Singh died soon after his accession and was succeeded by Jai Singh who is said²⁸ to be a grandson of Man Singh's brother Jagat Singh who is, however, not stated to be on the throne of Amber at any time. This Jai Singh, commonly known as Mirza Raja, is closely associated with several important military and political achievements of Aurangzeb, including Shivaji's temporarily coming to terms, appearance in the Imperial court etc. On his death in 1667 he was succeeded by his son Ram Singh who is said to have helped Shivaji in his mysterious escape from Agra in 1665. Ram Singh on his death in 1699 is

²⁴ Tod : *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II (Madras, 1880), P. 328 ff.

²⁵ *Ibid*, P. 319.

²⁶ *Ibid*, P. 326ff.

²⁷ *Ibid*, P. 327. From the synopsis of the chapter on P. 318, however, we catch the impression that Rao Bhao Maha was the full name of one person only. Śivānanda does not mention any separate Bhāvasimha.

²⁸ *Ibid*, P. 327.

said²⁹ to have been succeeded directly by Bishen Singh who lived to enjoy the dignity only for a few months and was succeeded by Sevai Jai Singh in the same year.

Two difficulties appear to come in the way of establishing the identity of Śivānanda's patron and his ancestors with these Amber rulers as described by Tod. They are : (1) Difference in relationships and (2) Absence of Kṛṣṇasimha in Tod's narrative. The first difficulty, even taking for granted that Tod's narration is quite accurate, can be easily got over on the consideration that several Hindu poets are seen to be in the habit of describing a successor as son of his predecessor whether he was so actually or not and Śivānanda's 'son,' too, may be explained in the sense of an adopted son or successor. The other difficulty seems to hamper the identification seriously unless either Śivānanda or Tod has committed a blunder. The former case is not likely, as the hero (viz., Kṛṣṇasimha), stated to be the father of the author's patron and disciple, was almost a contemporary of the author and is specially eulogised here in four verses. Hence the mistake or incompleteness of account, whatsoever it is, lies with Tod. This mistake or incompleteness, too, is minimised to a considerable degree when on a close inspection of Tod's narrative it is revealed that he nowhere says that Bishen Singh was son of his predecessor Ram Singh and is quite silent regarding the relationship between the two heroes.

All difficulties and misgivings in the way of my identification of Śivānanda's Viṣṇusimha with Bishen Singh of Amber are at once set at rest in the light of the following contemporary evidence. The well-known *Jayasimha Kalpadruma*, composed by Ratnākara in Samvat 1770³⁰ (= 1713 A.C.) under the patronage of Sevai Jai Singh,

²⁹ *Ibid*, Pp. 328, 333, 335.

³⁰ *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, Pp. 548^a, 727^b.

Bishen Singh's son or immediate successor to the Amber throne, furnishes in its introduction the genealogy of the Amber rulers exactly in the order and mutual relationship in which Śivānanda furnishes it i.e. as मानसिंह-जगत्सिंह-महासिंह-जयसिंह-रामसिंह-कृष्णसिंह-विष्णुसिंह-जयसिंह (Sevai). Here, too, each successor is described as son of his predecessor. The relevant passages mentioning Kṛṣṇasimha and Viṣṇusimha read : तत्पुत्रः (= रामसिंहस्य पुत्रः) कृष्णसिंहः प्रथितगुणगणः कृष्णवत्सोत्सवादयो जातः पृथ्व्यां पृथुश्रीररिगणतिमिरध्वंसने भानुरूपः । तस्मार्च्चाविष्णुसिंहः क्षपितरिपुगणः पालकः सञ्जनानां राजा राजीवनेत्रः समजनि मधुरा पालिता येन पूर्वम् ॥ (Introductory verse 14, folio 2^a of MS No. 2352 of the *S. O. Institute*, Ujjain), etc. Kṛṣṇasimha and Viṣṇusimha are again alluded to in the following verse occurring at the conclusion of several sections of the *Jayasimbhakalpadruma*— श्रीमद्दलीशसेनोद्भटविकटभटोद्दण्डमत्तेभसिंहश्चण्डोन्माद्यत्तुरुष्कक्षुभितवसुमतीपालने धर्मराजः । पौत्रः श्रीकृष्णसिंहक्षितिपकुलमणोर्विष्णुसिंहस्य पुत्रः श्रीमान्राजाधिराजो जयहरिरमराधीशवत्की सुखी स्यात् ॥ Thus it is proved beyond any shadow of doubt that in the genealogy of the Amber rulers Kṛṣṇasimha really intervenes between Rāmasimha and Viṣṇusimha and that Śivānanda's patron is no other personage than king Bishen Singh of Amber. It is really very strange that Kṛṣṇasimha so vividly mentioned by contemporary authors like Śivānanda, Ratnākara, etc. should have completely escaped Tod's notice.³¹

Śivānanda mentions Viṣṇusimha as the 'present' ruling chieft of his line. Hence, on the basis of the identity established above, the *Śrīvidyārcana:andrikā* has to be taken to be composed some time in 1699 A.C. since the patron was on the throne only for a few months in that year as per Tod's account. Śivānanda's literary activities thus appear to have covered a considerable period.

³¹. As mentioned above incidentally, Tod's narration conflicts with the statements of Śivānanda and Ratnākara also with regard to the genealogical positions of Mānasimha, Jagatsimha, Mahāsimha and Jayasimha.

As stated above, Śivānanda calls himself a scion of the Draviḍa line. A Draviḍa Brāhmaṇa family, it is personally known to me, has been residing at Jaipur as the line of the hereditary Rājagurus of Jaipur Maharajas and enjoying a big jagir to this day. There are also a few other families of Draviḍa Brāhmaṇas at Jaipur and Benares drawing hereditary muafi incomes from Jaipur State for spiritual reasons. It is quite probable that Śivānanda was the founder of some of these Draviḍa Brāhmaṇa families at Jaipur and Benares.

RELATION ACCORDING TO THE NEW SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC (NAVYA-NYĀYA)

By TARA SANKAR BHATTACHARYA

Relation plays a very prominent part in the literature of the New School of Indian Logic (Navya-Nyāya). The critical discussions on universal relation (vyāpti) in the commentaries of Raghunātha, Mathurānātha, Jagadīśa and the sub-commentaries of Gadādhara, Jagadīśa, Bhavānanda and others abound in numerous relations unknown to the commentators of the Old School. The principal relations in the Old School are conjunction and inherence, though several other relations are recognised. Udyotakara, in discussing the nature of perception, adopts the Vaiśeṣika conception of the different types of sense-contacts which are the variants¹ of conjunction and inherence. Attributiveness (Viśeṣaṇatā), which is the type of contact in the perception of negation, is another relation added to conjunction and inherence. The negation of the jar on a particular spot on the ground, for instance, is an attribute of that spot. In the perception of this negation the eye is united with the ground particularised by the negation

¹ The different types of contact between the sense and the positive object are the following :

- (a) Conjunction.—An external object like the tree is perceived through conjunction with the eye.
- (b) Conjoined-inherence.—In the perception of the colour of a thing, the eye is conjoined with the thing in which colour inheres.
- (c) Conjoined-inherent-inherence.—When we perceive colour-hood, the eye is conjoined with the object in which colour inheres and in this colour again colour-hood inheres.
- (d) Inherence.—Sound, when perceived, inheres in the ear-hole.
- (e) Inherent-inherence.—Sound-hood inheres in the sound which again inheres in the ear-hole.

of the jar. Hence the type of contact in this perception is particularity² or attributiveness. This relation of attributiveness is also called the relation of self-sameness (svarūpa-sambandha) in the Navya-Nyāya. The svarūpa-sambandha is constituted by the relata themselves without reference to any further relation. The negation of the jar on the ground exists as such negation and no further relation is necessary to connect the negation and the ground. Hence, the relation of negation to its substratum is self-sameness.³

The causal relation is also recognised by the Old School. But the three kinds of causes, like the inherent cause, the non-inherent cause and efficient or auxiliary cause, show that the causal relation can also be resolved into those of inherence and conjunction. The inherent cause is the substratum in which the effect inheres, e.g., the cloth inheres in the threads. The cause which is related with the inherent cause is the non-inherent cause. The *Siddhānta-Muktāvalī*'s explanation of the nature of this relation shows that the non-inherent cause also is nothing different from the relation of inherence : Now, the non-inherent cause may be connected with the cause in two ways--by being connected with the same object as the effect is, or by being connected with the same object as the cause is. An example of the first is this : The conjunction of the two halves of a jar is the non-inherent cause of the jar and so on. Hence, the cause, viz., the conjunction of the two halves, is connected with the same object, viz., the two halves, as the effect, the jar, is. An instance of the second : The colour of the two halves of a jar is the non-inherent cause of the colour of

² Vide, *Tarkasaṅgraha*, 44, of Annam Bhaṭṭa.

³ For the relation of Self-sameness or Svarūpa-sambandha, Vide, S. C. Chatterjee : *Nyāya Theory of Knowledge*, p. 188.

the jar. Here the jar is the inherent cause of the colour etc., belonging to it ; and this colour is connected with the same object, viz., the two halves, as the jar is. In other words, (the non-inherent cause is connected with the inherent cause) sometimes (directly) through the relation of inherence, and sometimes (indirectly) through the relation of inherence in that in which it itself inheres.”⁴ Lastly, the efficient cause like the loom etc., in the production of the cloth, bears the relation of conjunction to the threads, and so on.

The relation of Identity is another relation mentioned in the Old School. Vācaspati Miśra in his *Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparyā-tīkā* speaks of the mutual negation as the Negation of Identity (īdātmyābhāva) and this shows that the Relation of Identity has a place in the thought of the Old School.

With regard to Space relation and Time relation, the Old School thinks that they are qualities. The spatial relations, like remoteness, nearness etc., and temporal relations of dastness, futurity, etc., are qualities. The New School also takes them to be qualities. They are called in it as *daśika-viśeṣaṇatā* and *kālika-viśeṣaṇatā*. That the Old School also takes finite space and time as both qualities and relations, is indicated by Jagadīśa in his subcommentary on the *Didhiti* of Raghunātha on the *Siddhānta-lakṣaṇa* of Gaṅgeśa’s *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*⁵. Jagadīśa here says that the Old School takes the absolute negation of cow to be non-existing in time in space relation (*daśika-viśeṣaṇatā*).

These are the several relations recognised in the Old School and the principal relations among these are conjunction and inherence. The New School, on the contrary, recognises, in addition to these, almost an indefinite

⁴ Swāmi Mādhavānanda, *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* with *Siddhānta-Muktāvalī*. PP. 25-26.

⁵ Jāgadīśa-*Siddhānta-lakṣaṇam*, Benares, P. 103-104.

number of relations quite a good many of which figure very prominently in its arguments. We shall enumerate several main relations of this school.

But before enumerating these relations let us explain briefly the nature of relation as conceived by the Navya-Nyāya.

The New School agrees with the Old that a relation is perceived. Vātsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Nyāya-Sūtra* says that a relation is seen, i.e., perceived.⁶ Similarly, Viśvanātha says that conjunction is an object of the eye⁷ and "the perception of inherence is due to the relation of attributiveness."⁸

A relation forms an integral part of the object cognised. The object is a synthesis of a substratum, qualities and the relation between them. Viśvanātha observes: "The notion that a thing is possessed of qualities, actions, etc., is based on three things—something that is qualified (viśeṣya), a qualifying adjunct (viśeṣaṇa), and a relation between the two."⁹ Indeed, the relation is the cementing bond between the substratum and the qualities.

The relation is the determinant of the object. The difference of the relation makes the terms different and the difference of the terms differentiates the relation. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the Navya-Nyāya admits an indefinite number of relations.

On the question whether the Navya-Nyāya conception of relation is external or internal, it may be said that some relations are external and some internal. Conjunction is an external relation, but it is not like a hook added to the terms, but is a quality inhering in the substance. Inher-

⁶ Vātsyāyana-*Bhāṣya* on the *Nyāya-Sūtra* of Gotama, I. i. 5.

⁷ *Bhāṣā-pariccheda*, verse, 54.

⁸ *Ibid*, verse 61. Swāmi Mādhavānanda's translation.

⁹ *Siddhānta-Muktāvalī*, 11. (The English rendering is taken from Mādhavānanda's translation).

ence again is an intimate and internal relation, but is perceived. And when we consider the fact that terms modify relations and vice-versa, we can say that relations and terms are reciprocally internal.

Relation determines cognition which is of practical value. Determinate perception and inference are made possible by relation. An abstract entity, having no relation to anything, can neither be perceived nor be interred. Relation concretises facts. There is, of course, indeterminate perception which is an undifferentiated cognition and as such devoid of relation whose function is differentiation. But indeterminate perception is useless for all practical purposes. Hence, relation plays a very important role in our knowledge.

Every relation implies two terms one of which is said to rest on another. The term which rests on a substratum is called the *pratiyogi* and the substratum is called the *Anuyogi*. The same *pratiyogī* may bear more than one relation to its *anuyogi*. The jar, for example, exists in the relation of conjunction and in time relation on the ground.

Relation is not a separate category. It is included in the seven categories. It becomes this category or that according to circumstances. Inherence, for example, is itself a category ; conjunction, again, is one of the twenty-four qualities and so on.

Of the relations there are some which are determinants of existence (*vr̥ttiniyāmaka*) of a thing in a locus. Conjunction explains the existence, for example, of a jar, on the ground ; inherence defines the existence of quality, action and generic attribute in their substrata ; self-sameness marks out the existence of negation in its locus and so on. There are also relations which do not determine the existence of things in their substrata (*vr̥ttiyaniyāmaka-sambandha*). They are identity, locus-

hood, collective extensity, etc., The jar, for example, is identical with itself, but does not exist in the relation of identity on the ground ; a thing or a quality, again, exists in a locus in the relation of conjunction or inherence, but not in the relation of locus-hood and so on. ‘

Having thus described the general nature of relation, let us now enumerate the important ones¹⁰ among them:—

- (1) Conjunction (samyoga).—The relation of one substance with another is called conjunction. No two categories of the six categories of substance, quality, action, generic attribute, particularity and inherence can have, between them, the relation of conjunction. Conjunction itself again is a quality and as such inheres in a substance. The substance A, for example, stands on B and, therefore, has the relation of conjunction with B. Here conjunction is a quality of A.
- (2) Inherence (samavāya).—It is an internal and permanent relation between a composite substance and quality, action, universal and the particular. The *Siddhānta-Muktāvīlī* brings forward an argument to prove its permanence.¹¹ In the knowledge of a substance possessing quality there are the qualified, the quality and a relation between them. But this relation cannot be conjunction ; for conjunction obtains between two substances. Nor can it be self-sameness. For in that case we have to assume an infinite number of self-samenesses, the self-sameness of no two things being identical. In other words, there is an infinite number

¹⁰ Babu R. N. Ghose in his *Navya-Nyāya*, which is a translation work, in Bengali, of Mathurānātha's *Vyāpti-pañcaka-Rahasya*, gives us a list of the important relations of the Navya-Nyāya.

¹¹ On verse. 11.

of substances in this universe possessing qualities ; if every substance, possessing attributes, is an instance of self-sameness, then we have to assume an infinite number of self-samenesses. Again on this hypothesis a substance having different attributes will have different kinds of self-samenesses, which is absurd. Hence, the only alternative is the relation of inherence taking place between the substance and the attribute. The principle of simplicity also recommends this. If we can explain the relation by one inherence, it is useless to assume an infinite number of self-samenesses.¹²

- (3) Self-sameness (svarūpa).—It is a relation between an essence, which does not imply a generic attribute, and its locus, between existence and the existent and between substratum-hood and the substratum. Negation again abides in the relation of self-sameness in its substratum. This relation between negation and its support is also called attributiveness pertaining to negation (abhāvīya-viśeṣaṇatā). The relation between existence and the existent, on the contrary, is a type of self-sameness which is called attributiveness pertaining to existence (bhāvīya-viśeṣaṇatā), because existence is a positive category. A genuine attribute exists in its substratum in the relation of inherence and, therefore, cannot stand to it in the relation of self-sameness.
- (4) Identity (tādātmya).—The relation of a thing to itself is identity, i.e., everything is identical with itself.

¹² For a detailed discussion on conjunction and inherence, see, S. C. Chatterjee : *Nyāya Theory of Knowledge*, pp. 186-91.

- (5) Time-relation (kālika-sambandha).—The relation that an entity, whether eternal or transitory, bears to time is called time-relation. Everything in this world has time-relation to everything else, because things are either co-existent or successive. The *Siddhānta-Muktīvalī* discusses briefly the nature of time—a discussion which throws a flood of light on the nature of time-relation.¹⁸ In the first place, time is the support of the moving world and the auxiliary cause of the things which are produced. But what is the proof of this? It can be proved by a simple case of perception. Take the cognition, “Now, i.e., at the present moment, the jar is there.” This cognition has a reference to the position and (apparent) movement of the sun, because the exact hour implied by the present moment is determined by the position of the sun on the horizon, i.e., any particular point of time is certainly sun-time. Hence in the cognition, “Now the jar is there,” there is a relation between the jar and the (apparent) motion of the sun. This relation is not conjunction (as the jar cannot be conjoined with the movement of the sun, movement being not a substance); nor can this relation be inherence or identity. Hence, it must be time. In time both the movement of the sun and the jar subsist and from this it follows that time is the support of the whole universe. Thus time is the sustainer of the ever-moving world. It is one continuous whole and not the aggregate of succeeding moments.

¹⁸ *Siddhānta-Muktīvalī* on verse, 45.

Past, present and future do not effect time, but time is converted into these by its limiting adjuncts (upādhi). The *Tarka-saṅgraha* expresses in two short sentences the nature of time and time-relation. The one eternal all-pervading time is converted into past, present or future for practical purposes. Time, in fact, is the substratum of all things, i.e., all things exist in time-relation, and it is the instrumental cause of all activity.¹⁴ It is a substance having the five qualities of number, measure, disjunction, conjunction and division.¹⁵

- (6) Space relation (dikkr̥ta-viśeṣaṇatā).—The remarks applied to time apply *mutatis mutandis* to space also. Space is one eternal all-pervading substance in which the distinctions of east, west, north, south, etc., are due to its different limiting adjuncts. Space is the cause of distance, nearness etc. Like time it is the efficient cause of everything that is produced. Everything, in fact, must exist in some spatial relation. Like time also space has the qualities of number, measure, disjunction, conjunction and division.
- (7) Object-hood (viśayatā).—The relation that knowledge, attraction, repulsion and effort bears to things is called object-hood.
- (8) Knowledge-hood (viśayitā).—The relation that objects bear to knowledge, attraction, repulsion and effort is called knowledge-hood.
- (9) Cause-hood (kāraṇatā).—It is the relation of the effect to the cause.

¹⁴ *Tarka-Saṅgraha* and *Tark-dīpikā*, p. 16.

¹⁵ Vide, *Tarkāmṛta* of Jagadīśa.

- (10) Effect-hood (kāryatā).—It is the relation of the cause to the effect.
- (11) Location (ādheyatā).—It is the relation of the locus to the located.
- (12) Locus-hood (ādhāratā).—It is the relation of the located to the locus.
- (13) Collective extensity (paryāpti).—This relation has application in the case of number. When we say, for example, “fine pots,” a number with a collective extensity is given. The number extends up to five which again is a collective integer. Hence the relation of the number five to pot, may be called, collective extensity.
- (14) Ownership (svāmitva).—The owned exists in this relation to the owner.
- (15) Ownership (svatva).—The owner bears this relation to the owned.
- (16) The substratum-hood of negation (abhāvatva).—It is the relation of a thing to the substratum in which it does not exist. Smoke, for example, does not exist in water. Smoke, therefore, stands to water in the relation of substratum-hood of negation.
- (17) Conjoined-inherence (saṃyukta-samavāya).
- (18) Conjoined-inherent-inherence (saṃyukta-samaveta-samavāya).
- (19) Inherent-inherence (samaveta-samavāya).
- (20) Partial extension (avyāpyava).—Smoke does not exist in a red hot iron-ball. Hence, the relation of smoke to fire is an instance of partial-extension.
- (21) Non-existence-in-the-substratum-of-the-non-existence-of-itself, i.e. the term related (svābhāvatavṛttitva).—Fire is negated in water in which smoke does not exist. Hence, the relation of

- fire to smoke may be called non-existence-in-the-substratum-of-the-non-existence-of itself.
- (22) Co-existence (svasāmānādhikarāṇya).—Things existing in the same locus bear this relation to each other.
- (23) Counterpositiveness (pratiyogitā)—It is the relation between negation and the thing negated and vice versa. The relation between relation and the term related is also called pratiyogitā, but the pratiyogī, in this connection, means that which rests on a substratum.
- (24) Substratum-hood (anuyogitā).—A negation exists in this relation to its substratum and conversely.
- (25) Determination (avacchedakatā).—The categories have this relation to their determinants.

ASSYRIAN AND SANSKRIT—THEIR RESEMBLANCE¹

By VIDYADHAR SHASTRI

It is usual to compare Sanskrit with languages like Latin, Greek and German. A language, however, older than all these, namely, Assyrian, has till now been rather neglected; but that Assyrian, too, is not unrelated to Sanskrit would be seen from the study of the following words' culled from Assyrian inscriptions ranging from the year 2500 B.C. to 500 B.C.

- (1) Assyrian MUTU meaning 'death' equals Sanskrit *Mṛtyu*
 (2) „ SU „ 'that' „ „ *sa* or *Asau*
 (3) „ DIPAR „ 'lamp' „ „ *Dīpa*
 (4) „ NARĀMU „ 'love' „ „ *Narma*.

The Sanskrit form of the word can be seen in
 "narma-saciva." *Amara* uses the word in the
 sense of *keli* or *krīḍā*.

- (5) Assyrian SIRU meaning "dawn" equals Vedic *Śīram*.
 The word occurs in a *prātaranuvāka* and has been noticed in the *Nirukta* by Yāska who, after putting the remark, "*ityanavagatam*," interprets it as "*anuśāyinam vāśīnamiti vā*." But the context seems to suggest "dawn." By Yāska's time the right meaning of this word may have been forgotten.

- (6) Assyrian ASRU meaning "place" equals Sanskrit *Āśrama*
 (7) „ ŚIHRU „ "small" „ „ *Hrasva*.
 (8) „ RAMU „ "to love" „ „ *Ram*.
 (9) „ ŚUKŪḌU „ "spear" „ „ *Śakti*.

¹ A paper read at the second monthly meeting of the Śārdūl Research Institute.

(10)	Assyrian	ŠIPRU	meaning	"craft"	equals	Sanskrit	<i>Śilpa</i> .
(11)	"	ŠĀRU	"	"to pass"	}	,,	,, <i>Sr</i> or <i>Sar</i> .
				"to go"			
				"wind"			
(12)	"	ŠĪRU	"	"body"	"	"	<i>Śarīra</i> .
(13)	"	ADGURU	"	"vessel for	"	"	<i>Aguru</i> .
				incense"			
(14)	"	APSŪ	"	"Ocean"	"	"	<i>Apas</i> .
(15)	"	ŠĀTU	"	"eternity"	"	"	<i>Śāśvat</i> .
(16)	"	INANNA	}	"now"	"	"	<i>Idānīm</i>
		INANNU					
(17)	"	ADŪ	"	"now"	"	"	<i>Adya</i> .
(18)	"	UMMU	"	"mother"	"	"	<i>Ambā</i> .
(19)	"	GAMRU	"	"whole"	"	"	<i>Grāma</i> .
(20)	"	HADUO	"	"to rejoice"	"	"	<i>Hlād</i> .
(21)	"	I-ŠA-RU	"	"righteous"	"	"	<i>Īśvara</i>
(22)	"	TI-IB-NU	"	"straw"	"	"	<i>Tṛṇa</i> .
(23)	"	KAKKABU	"	"star"	"	"	<i>Kakubha</i> l.a. ²
(24)	"	ABU	"	"father"	"	"	<i>Āpta</i> .
(25)	"	ILU	"	"God"	"	"	<i>Idya</i> .
(26)	"	PARAKKU	"	"shrine"	"	"	<i>Prekṣaṇīya</i> .
(27)	"	ŠUBĀTU	"	"garment"	"	"	<i>Suvastra</i> .
(28)	"	ELLU	"	"bright"	"	"	<i>Ujjvala</i> .
(29)	"	NAKRU	"	"Hostile"	"	"	<i>Nakra</i> . ³
(30)	"	CAMMULU	"	"Camel"	"	"	<i>Kramelaka</i> .
(31)	"	NĀRU	"	"river"	"	"	<i>Nīrā</i> .

² *Kakubha* means direction ; a star shows direction.

³ The name *Nakra* for a crocodile seems to have been given on account of its hostile nature.

SOME UNPUBLISHED MAITHILI SONGS

By RAMANATHA JHA

Seven years ago when the late Sir Ganganatha Jha took me to the Darbhanga Raj Library, it was one of the many precepts he blessed me with that I should make it a point to examine an old sanskrit manuscript very carefully and minutely specially if it happened to be a palm-leaf manuscript. These old volumes, he said, often contained on the covers both inside and outside and even on extra leaves placed both ways for the protection of the main MS., little bits of most useful information which cannot otherwise be had.

In course of these seven years, specially during the last three years, many hundreds of old Sanskrit MSS, sometimes as old as 600 years, have passed through my hands and sold to Raj Library ; and following faithfully the precept I have hardly allowed any manuscript pass without carefully scanning it in the beginning, at the end and at all odd corners of the bundle. Not a few of them have yielded rich fruits to me in the shape of (i) old documents, e.g. deeds of sale, gift and redemption of slaves, books, etc., (ii) stray verses in Sanskrit and also in Maithili sometimes with the names of the author, but often quoted anonymously, (iii) exhaustive lists of articles required in the various यज्ञ's including श्राद्ध, all in Maithili language, giving us chaste forms of Maithili words 300 or 400 years ago.

All that is presented here was found by me on three rotten leaves found placed at the end of two bundles of old palm leaves brought to me for inspection before offering them for sale. The first leaf is written on both the sides. On the first page there are 6 lines containing two

complete songs one of लखिमिनाथ and the other of विद्यापति, written very clearly and correctly in the archaic style of the 4th century of the La. Sam. era, specially the three letters उ, ज, and त. On the reverse, there are five lines. This is written almost a hundred years later in fainter ink, by another man, not at all correctly, and the page ends while the excellent song is still incomplete. The general condition of the leaf is not bad; only the central hole has widened enormously and eaten up two to three letters in three lines on one side of the hole on either sides of the leaf.

The Second leaf is very much rotten and worn off on all ends. It is written on both the sides by the same man almost correctly and the style of writing resembles that of the 5th century of the La. Sam. era. There are five lines on the first page and only three and a half on the reverse. The leaf contains two complete songs, both of Vidyāpati, the second one begins on the first page.

The third leaf is more in tact though the central hole here also has widened very much eating the contiguous letters. There are five lines on the first page and only three on the reverse, where the second song, which had begun on the first page, ends. The style of writing is clearly modern on account of the use of य, यी, etc., in place of अ, ई, etc. This tendency of the use of य which found its zenith in the writings of the late Chandā Jhā is not more than 200 years old.

There are thus 7 songs on these three leaves. Of these five are clearly by Vidyāpati. One in the oldest writing is of लखिमिनाथ who mentions his patron कृष्णनाराज्जेन with his new love देवजना. There is a song by one लखिमिनाथ (note the difference in the spelling) also in the collection of the songs of Vidyāpati, on palm-leaves in the Nepal Durbar Library. The last song, the song on the reverse of the 1st leaf, is incomplete. This is an excellent song

in दण्डक metre describing the figure of Mahākālī in mixed Sanskrit and Maithilī language like the one on गङ्गा by Vidyāpati (song No. 978 on page 329 of Vidyabhūsan and Mitra's recent Bengali edition of Vidyāpati). As the colophon is missing it cannot be said with certainty whose composition this is, but this may be a song of Vidyāpati himself.

Two of these five songs of Vidyāpati are also published in the edition of N. N. Gupta and I have compared the two texts in the notes. This find of the songs with indigenous text on old palm leaves proves conclusively how very incomplete and corrupt the text of some of the published songs of Vidyāpati may be.

But the most important song from the point of view of real advance of our knowledge about Vidyāpati is the second song on the first page of the first leaf which is written in a style more than 400 years old and is the prototype of a host of such other songs sung still all over Mithila to the bride-grooms at the time of feeding for full one year after the date of marriage or even afterwards. These songs, called जोग, describe the various magic devices calculated to make the husband subservient to the newly married wife. It is an important branch of व्यावहारिक songs, songs fitted for ceremonial occasions chiefly festive and we have for each of our festive occasions suitable songs often with the name of Vidyāpati in the colophon. Though sung all over Mithila from mouth to mouth no व्यावहारिक song associated with the name of Vidyāpati was found in any old MS. Sceptics had therefore come to doubt the tradition that Vidyāpati did compose व्यावहारिक songs. The find of this जोग song, called here by its राग name, मालव, written on a palm-leaf more than 400 years ago, confirms the tradition and sets all doubts at rest for ever. For its excellence I would commend its close study to all students of literature and invite them to compare this with the "Witches' Dance" of the *Macbeth*.

Before, however, giving the text I feel I owe a few words by way of explanation for what I have inserted after each song as its "Interpretation". The essence of correctly reading an old MS., specially in Maithili, lies in the interpretation one is able to give to what he reads in the particular context. The reasons for this are obvious. Old Sanskritists noted for their writings have always been lacking in proper application of पदच्छेद in a sentence and it required the ingenuity of a man to make out words from letters written one after the other in a line. Secondly, so many letters are written alike in Maithili script that one cannot decide what letter a particular sign indicates unless one can interpret the letter in the word of expression correct to the context. Such, for example, are the letters च and व, व and र, न and ल, म and स. As a concrete case of the necessity of this interpretation I should cite the first word in the fourth line in the first song on the third leaf which I read as 'चरिमे' but which can very well be read as 'वरिसे' also. If I am asked why I have चरिमे and not वरिसे I would say that चरिमे suits the context; that I can interpret the fourth दोष of कामावस्था as क्लृप्ता and this is exactly what the दूती conveys in the line—the anguish of the emaciated lady lying in love forlorn.

Vidyāpati, moreover, is noted for vividness of his imagery and clarity of his expression. He has in an abundant degree what is called प्रसादगुण in Sanskrit poetics. It does not therefore stand to reason that anything Vidyāpati wrote could be so obscure as some of the lines of the songs of Vidyapati printed in some of the published collections of his songs. Wherever any line of Vidyāpati is obscure I begin to doubt if it was properly written or it has been correctly read. In the case of my find I have read the leaves and interpreted them and I feel I have interpreted them so as to make the meaning clear and the picture vivid,

Where I have failed to find out the clear import that may be deducible from the combination of letters which suits the context exactly, I have said so in the notes and given there what I just suggest as a possible interpretation. But such cases are only three or four where the writing is not clear.

The text of the songs, otherwise, is exactly as I have found it and if there is any mistake in the writing or there are letters worn off, I have not made any change in the text but suggested my own restoration, improvement or emendation only in the note. Now follows the text :*

Leaf No. 1. Page No. 1. Song No. 1.

भूपाजी रागे

उलुगण¹ गल गगन मन्द

अचल चरम चढ़ल चन्द ।

ध्रु० । तेजहि² माधव तेजहि आज

पुनु पुनु पुनु पेअसि काज ।

तमुचुर³ रबे मलय वाति

लाजें कि कहब बहलि राति ।

‘लखिमिनाथ’ कह धनि सार

सब तह भल रस सिङ्गार ।

‘कृष्णनराजेन’ गुणक गेह

‘देवजना’ देवि नव सिन्हे ॥

* I must thank Pandit Jiwanand Thakur of the Raj Library and Professor Subhadra Jha Shastri of the Chandradhari Mithila College, who have very sincerely helped me not only in the reading of the text but also in its interpretation.

¹ उलुगण should be read as उडुगण meaning the stars—The whole line means—“The stars have faded away and the sky is charmless.”

² The refrain gives the clue to the song. Here the lady has been waiting anxiously throughout the whole night and when it is dawning she bewails her lot in these words, addressed to her absent lover who has cheated her—You may leave me, O Mādhava, you may forsake me to-night. But again, again and again you will need your beloved प्रेयसी ।

³ तमुचुर is the Maithili form of ताम्रचू meaning a cock.

Leaf No. 1. Page No. 1. Song No. 2.*

मालव

कृढ़⁴ एकाङ्गी⁵ एकल वीर⁶

× च⁷ चितउर जैन्तिक सीर⁸ ।

पिसि देवओ⁹ हरितारी मान¹⁰

होएबह¹¹ धिअ जमाई परान ॥

धु० ॥ जोग जूगुति सुनह धिआ ।

नहि परवस होअ पिआ ॥

गूर¹² गूगूर¹³ अओर बहेला¹⁴ ।

माकर¹⁵ माछी¹⁶ मण्डपचेला¹⁷ ॥

* The central idea underlying this type of songs is given by Vidyāpati in the refrain here. "Listen carefully, oh my daughter! to the devices of जोग (जादू, टोना, magic) by means of which your (newly married) husband will not fall into the influence of others." In every treatise on the science of erotics (कामशास्त्र) there is a chapter on वशीकरण which describes the different processes of bringing men and women under one's control. Usually there are three types of these processes—(1) A herbal concoction for drink; (2) An incense to be burnt, and (3) A special collirium to apply to the eyes—In this song one recipe for each one of these processes is given—for the concoction in lines 1—4, for the incense in lines 7—10; and for the collirium in lines 11—14.

⁴ These are common herbal plants.

⁵ A common aromatic herb.

⁶ The lonely plantain plant. Plantain plants usually grow in clusters—Here a lonely plant is prescribed.

⁷ The missing letter may be व giving the word वच a common medicinal herb.

⁸ Root.

⁹ Give you after grinding.

¹⁰ Sulphuret of arsenic, a common drug.

¹¹ This line describes the result accruing as a result of using the concoction. By drinking this the daughter will be (as dear as) life to the son-in-law.

¹² Unclarified sugar.

¹³ A common incense.

¹⁴ बहेला = बहेडा = the fruit of a common herbal plant, one of the famous त्रिफला ।

¹⁵ माकर = मकड़ा = A spider.

¹⁶ The common fly.

¹⁷ This phrase is not quite clear to me—The letters are clear but perhaps the clue is lost. It may be either मरह (gruel) पचैला = पचल = decomposed or it may mean the चेला = चेरा = the faggot of a मण्डप ।

शानि महेसर¹⁸ जारब आगि ।
 पढु हुङ्कर¹⁹ तोरा लागि ॥
 खंजन²⁰ आँखि परेबा²¹ पीत²² ।
 होएबह धिअ जमाइक हीत²³ ॥
 नयन काजरेँ करव पान्ति²⁴ ॥
 हाकद²⁵ पढु परेबा भान्ति ॥
 भने विद्यापति कहल सार ।
 जोगव²⁶ बान्धल थिक संसार ॥
 राजा रूपनराजन जान ।
 सुखें सुखमादेवि-रमान ॥

Leaf No. 1. Page No. 2. Song No. 3.

ओं नमो दुर्गायै । दण्डक । कानरा रागे ।
 भुजगराज भीषण भुज समुचित कलित काल करवाण²⁷ करा ।
 तरुग तिमिरश्चितनुरनुरूपा द्वीपिचर्मपरिधान धरा ॥
 प्रस्फुरदुपदुर्गकिरणद्वि²⁸ति दूर निमग्नदृष्टिबदना ।
 उद्धतकपिल जटावय × × त²⁹ (राजित) वरवैकुण्ठ सदन भुवना ॥

¹⁸ The first letter of this line is a strange one the like of which there is not found on the leaf. The only letter which this sign can be is, in my opinion शा, giving the meaning of the line as "Mixing them all together, make of the mixture a Shivalinga (like the one people make of clay) and then burn it."

¹⁹ हुङ्कर literally means "to say हूँ हूँ" to support everything that is said. हुङ्कर is also used to express the sound produced by cattle. It may therefore mean "that as a result of burning this incense your husband will be as subservient to you as the cattle and support you in whatever you say or do."

²⁰ A common bird noted for its eyes.

²¹ परेबा = पक्षि = the pigeon.

²² पित्त = liver.

²³ जमाइकहीत = helpful to the son-in-law, her husband.

²⁴ पान्ति = पाँतो = पक्ति = a line. Mark the spellings of पान्ति & भान्ति for पाँती & भाँति

²⁵ As a result of this special collirium, the bride is promised power to "send her husband like a pigeon (at her bidding)."

²⁶ The idea expressed in the refrain is again emphasised in the colophon which means, "The world is bound up with the devices of जोग ।"

²⁷ ए here is a mistake for ल giving the word करवाल = sword.

²⁸ This is, obviously a mistake for द् + व ।

²⁹ The two worn off letters seem to have been रा and जि ।

ध्रु ॥ जयति जगत्रा³⁰तापकरासुर वीर विदारण धीरतरा ।
 काली कमल पाँनि कमलासन णाकणाथ³¹कृतनुति निकरा ॥
 × × दि³² निरुन्त गलद्रुधिरारुण मुण्डावलि मण्डित हृदया ।
 पदरविन्दभरें चलद्रुवीर्वरधृत विह्वलफनि विततदया ॥
 कवलित रथ रथि गजवार्णा³³त्रचूरणचतुरदशन मुँमला ।
 अजराजित गुरुङ्गरपण्डित चण्डमुण्डखण्डनकुशला ॥
 विविद³⁴वरु पातालतलौवि³⁵त भीमभुजङ्गीसम रसना ।
 पीताम्बर शोणितमधुमत्ता पटपटहृध्वनि कटु हँसना ॥
 रक्तबीज सन्तान समुद्भवसर्वसुपर्व्वर्भीति समना ।
 भूतवैताल समाज

This song describes the figure of महाकाली who destroyed चण्डमुण्ड and the rest, described in the चण्डीमाहात्म्य ।

Translation.—Glory to Kāli, the patient destroyer of all brave Asuras, the tormentors of the three worlds—She, who is lavishly praised by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Indra.

She has in her hand a death-like scimitar suited to the arm, like the terrible trunk of the Snake king. In appearance she is pitch dark and she has the skin of an elephant as her raiment.

Sparkling like the effulgent morning mountain peak, her face reveals her eyes directed far away. Her plaited hairs, all yellow, are standing on edge . Her abode is in high Vaikuṇṭhaloka.

She has a garland of red human heads just chopped off and is still streaming with blood. She has extended her pity to the holder of the earth (the Śeṣa-Nāga) who

³⁰ This should have been य ।

³¹ This is clearly नाकनाथ meaning the king of the heaven, Indra.

³² The two missing letters are obviously स and ण giving the word सपरि = just then.

³³ वाणी is meaningless. Can this be a mistake for वाजी (Horse) ?

³⁴ विविद is a mistake for विविध

³⁵ लि = वि .

under the pressure of her lotus-feet moves and holds his thousand hoods in pain.

Having taken into her mouth lots of chariots, charioteers, elephant and horses, She has her teeth as the pestle to grind them down. She is the expert to cut into two such veteran war heroes as Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, invincible even of the gods.

She has her tongue like the tongue of the terrible many-headed She-Snake living in the Pāṣāl. She has a yellow (upper) garment. She is intoxicated with wine and blood. The ḍamaroo is sounding पट पट and she is laughing boisterously.

She is the Agent for the eradication of all fears of the gods arising out of the progeny of Raktaviṣa, in the company of Bhūtas and Vetālas.....

Leaf No. 2. Page No. 1. Song No. 1.

कोलार ।

साँझहि³⁶ चान्द उगिए गेल दिन सम निरमल राति³⁷ ।
 कत परिबोवह अगे सषि कओने अङ्गीरब³⁸ मोरि साति ॥
 ध्रु ॥ आजे हमे क × ³⁹ हठ परलाहुँ, कहलिहुँ नहि परकार ॥
 एतएक ऐसनि कजगति⁴⁰ × × ए⁴¹ अरतल⁴² वरनाह ।

³⁶ Suggests that it was a full-moon night.

³⁷ अङ्गीरब = to take upon oneself. Compare Vidyapati (Vidyābhusan and Mitra ed.) अपनुक अङ्गिरल कर निरवाह रे। (820).

³⁸ साति is from Sanskrit शास्ति meaning "inflict pain." Compare Vidyapati: हमर वचन यदि नहि परतीत

बूझि करह साति जे हो उचीत (348).

³⁹ There is a letter worn off but it appears to have been ओ which fits in exactly in the context.

⁴⁰ कजगति appears to me to be a corrupt form of कार्यगति ।

⁴¹ The first two letters of this word are broken from the middle below but the upper loops are in tact. They appear to have been ओ & त giving the word ओतए which with एतए of the 1st pāda fits in exactly with उबरहुँ..

⁴² अरतल is a verbal form from आरत. Compare Vidyapati:

आरति अरतल भावए पास, अङ्गिरत बहु नहि करिअ उदास (95)

उभएहुं⁴³ संसए परलाहुं के जान कैसने निरबाह ॥
 विद्यापति भने सुन्दरि अचिरे⁴⁴ होएत समधान ।
 राजा रूपनराएन लषीमादेविरमान ॥

Leaf No. 2. Pages 1 and 2. Song No. 2.⁴⁵

मालव ।

संसव समय पेलि⁴⁶ पिओलासि मधुर माएक पीर ।
 दधीदुध घृत भरि⁴⁶ भुञ्जओलासि कोमल काञ्च सरिर ॥
 चानन चीर⁴⁷ चबाए चिन्हओलासि अपन पर समाज ।
⁴⁸भर जओ फूल छूइतें छाड़सि निलज तोहि न लाज ॥
 ध्रु ॥ वएस कतए तेजीए गेला ।
 तोहि सेवइते जनम खेपल तैओ न अपन भेला ॥

⁴³ The meaning of these two lines seems to be—Here you see the situation ; there the good lover is anxious. I am in a fix. If I go, my position as a कुलकामिनी will be compromised ; if I do not go, I will be false to my words.

⁴⁴ अचिरे = without delay. The suggestion here is that soon her scruples will all be drowned in the intensity of her love of which indications are already there in her description of the वरनाह.

⁴⁵ This song is the same as song No. 839 in N. N. Gupta's edition or No. 838 of the recent Bengali Edition of Vidyapati by Vidyabhusan and Mitra but the text as printed is hopelessly incomplete in the face of this complete song as reproduced here. In the printed text there are, besides the two lines of the refrain, only 6 lines, the lines Nos. 1, 8, 13, 12 and 18 of the song as found by me. But the text as reproduced here is nevertheless mutilated on account of the leaf on which this is written being extremely rotten. It is however an important song in the form of an address to Age in which the different stages of a man's life are most graphically described, especially the extreme senility of old age which is full of pathos.

⁴⁶ पेलि and भरि are adverbs meaning "to the full."

⁴⁷ चानन चीर seems to be a single word, meaning "a piece of Sandal wood." Compare Vidyapati विससम चानन चीर (702).

The meaning of the first part of the line seems to be :—that the first knowledge of sandal wood was gathered by the poet or is gathered by an average man while yet a child, by chewing the piece and thereby realising the mistake, recognise the thing.

⁴⁸ Age is said here to be as shameless as a black bee that forsakes the flower the moment it has sucked up the juice. Age too is always fleeting and every moment it is passing away. Hence the comparison.

जीवन दसाँ खोजी खोजओलासि काञ्चकपूर तमोर⁴⁹ ।

⁵⁰ दुइ सिरिफल छाह सोअओलासि कोमल कामिनी को × ⁵¹ ।

⁵² × × × × तोजे ततए घओलासि जओ नहि रस सबाद ।

पवन पाछा लागि जएलाहुँ मोहि भेल परमाद ॥

• ⁵³ कैसेन केस की भए विभछल⁵⁴ वन भरी रहू काठ⁵⁵ ॥

आषि मलमलि⁵⁶ कान न सुनीअ सुखि गेल तनु आठ⁵⁷ ॥

दान्त भरी मुख थोथर भए गेल जनि कमाओल⁵⁸ साप ।

⁵⁹ ठाम बैसलें भूवन भमिअ भरी गेल सबे दाप⁶⁰ ॥

जाहि लागी गृहचातर⁶¹ लाओल बूझल सबे असार ।

आखि पाखी⁶² दुहु समरि⁶³ सोएल जनित सबे विकार⁶⁴ ॥

⁴⁹ तमोर = ताम्बूल = betel leaves.

⁵⁰ A finely drawn picture of blooming youth !

⁵¹ The worn off letter must be र giving the word कोर (the lap).

⁵² The meaning of these two lines is obscure for want of four or five letters in the first line which I dare not restore. The meaning seems to be—"You ran after things without taste and I, not realising the real situation followed you (fleeting) as the wind" पवन, the wind is spoken here as the type of ever fleeting age. प्रमाद means mistake, mistake to understand the real significance of age and youth.

⁵³ A graphic picture of old age begins from here.

⁵⁴ विभछल is twice used in this song and nowhere else by Vidyapati. It must mean "whitened."

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⁵⁷ तनुआठ = अष्ट अङ्ग which comprises (1) hands (2) feet (3) knees, (4) eyes, (5) head, (6) vision, (7) speech and (8) mind.

⁵⁸ कमाओल, I take to mean, "Charmed" by having the fangs extracted. Thus only can a toothless man be compared to a snake. Also, an old man is as harmless as a fangless snake. The reading in the printed editions कचुमापल meaning having worn off the old skin seems unwarranted. For the use of the verb कमाए we still use it in the sense of, say, "shaving" in the case of a barber.

⁵⁹ i.e., even when he (the old man) cannot move about and remains sitting, his mind is wandering over the whole world.

⁶⁰ दाप = दप = pride.

⁶¹ गृहचातर may be an idiom like our modern घरद्वार or लोकवेद

⁶² आखि पाखी = vision and resources—we still have this idiom.

⁶³ समरि = समटि = having withdrawn.

• ⁶⁴ i.e. all sorts of distempers are cropping up.

उभएहुं⁴³ संसए परलाहुं के जान कैसने निरबाह ॥
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जीवन दसाँ खोजी खोजओलासि काञ्चकपूर तमोर⁴⁹ ।
⁵⁰ दुइ सिरिफल छाह सोअओलासि कोमल कामिनी को × ⁵¹ ।
⁵² × × × × तोजे ततए घओलासि जओ नहि रस सबाद ।
 पवन पाछा लागि जएलाहुँ मोहि भेल परमाद ॥
⁵³ कैसेन केस की भए विभछल⁵⁴ वन भरी रहू काठ⁵⁵ ।
 आषि मलमलि⁵⁶ कान न सुनीअ सुखि गेल तनु आठ⁵⁷ ॥
 दान्त भरी मुख थोथर भए गेल जनि कमाओल⁵⁸ साप ।
⁵⁹ ठाम बैसलें भूवन भमिअ भरी गेल सबे दाप⁶⁰ ॥
 जाहि लागी गृहचातर⁶¹ लाओल बूझल सबे असार ।,
 आखि पाखी⁶² दुहु समरि⁶³ सोएल जनित सबे विकार⁶⁴ ॥

⁴⁹ तमोर = ताम्बूल = betel leaves.

⁵⁰ A finely drawn picture of blooming youth !

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⁵⁹ i.e., even when he (the old man) cannot move about and remains sitting, his mind is wandering over the whole world.

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⁶² आखि पाखी = vision and resources—we still have this idiom.

⁶³ समरि = समदि = having withdrawn.

⁶⁴ i.e. all sorts of distempers are cropping up.

छोरकी सोरकी⁶⁵ भोंह विभछल वन फूल गेल कासी⁶⁵ ।

⁶⁶एक दिस जदि बान्धि निरोधीअ तरे उपरे उकासी ॥

भने विद्यापति सुन न मालति⁶⁷ मने न करह वाद ।

⁶⁸हरि हर पय पङ्कज⁶⁹ सेबह ते न रह अवसाद⁷⁰ ॥

Leaf No. 3. Page No. 1. Song No. 1.

रामकरा रागे ।

मनजनमा अरि तिलकवैग्वैरि तावैरि आनन दासा ।

ताहेरि दाहु जत षाए मरति तत केवल तोहर उदेसा ॥

माधव दूसह तनु पचवाने ।

चरिमे दोषे पाड़लि सेहे वाला त्रीवध कर × × धाने⁷¹ ॥

की देवागण आनन धमि पैसि मरति से अनल घसाइ ।

सुमरि सिनेह अन्तपुर जाइनि जुगजुग तुअ शुध ला ×⁷² ॥

× × × जनमा वाहन आहवसन ते जानल जिय सायी⁷³ ।

भनइ विद्यापति शिवसिंह नरपति अवसर हलह⁷⁴ बुझाइ ॥

This song is unique inasmuch as it is full of riddles (कूट्स) some of which I have tried to interpret. The refrain

⁶⁵ छोरकी सोरकी । It is not quite clear—what this means. But as this is placed with भोंह (eye brows) to have been whitened, I surmise that these two words might have meant in those days the two eyelashes, the upper and the lower ones.

⁶⁶ कासी is the कास flower to which white hairs are compared.

⁶⁷ i.e. if I take precaution against any distemper, violent coughing sets in that shakes the whole system.

⁶⁸ Was मालती the name of some one whom the poet consoles ?

⁶⁹ Mark the reference to हरिहर. Does not this prove that Vidyapati was not a Vaisnava nor a Saiva but a Smārta who adored like the text of the Maithils the five chief gods praised in the Smritis.

⁷⁰ पय = पद ; अवसाद = Depression, sadness of spirits.

⁷¹ The two missing letters are obviously अ & व ।

⁷² Here the missing letter seems to be ई or पी ।

⁷³ सायी or सइ is a variant of सोइ 'the same.' Compare Vidyapati (Vidyabhusan and Mitra) अरि सम गजए मन पुनु रजए अपन मनोरथ साइ (141) The य in this word as also in the preceding जिय points out the later date of the writing on this leaf. More than 200 years ago, this would have been written जिअ (is living) साई (the same).

⁷⁴ For हलह in the sense of चलह (let us go) compare Vidyapati. परसि हलह जनु पिसुनक बोल (461).

gives us the clue in the form of the central idea underlying the song. The friend, दूती, says to माधव (lover): Cupid is unbearable in her body. She is lying in the 4th कामावस्था which is कृशता, emaciated, and think of स्त्री वध (in case she dies).

The first two lines are riddles—They mean—“If she attains to the tenth कामावस्था which is death by taking recourse to poison, it will be on your account.” Let us see how this meaning is derived:—

मनजनमा = कामदेव His अरि = शिव His तिलक = चन्द्रमा His वैरि = राहु His वैरि = विष्णु, तावैरि = रावण, His आनन = 10; दासा is a corrupt form of दशा. Thus all that the first line conveys is “Tenth—(काम) दशा”—ताहेरि = रावण's बाहु = 20 = विस = विष = poison!

The next two lines seem to mean, “She will die by drowning herself or enter a burning fire but even when she goes to यमपुर she will remember you long for your love.” कीदेवागण आनन is not quite clear. The आनन (mouth) of देवागण is अग्नि (the fire) but that is distinctly told by अनल towards the end. If one be taken as the विशेषण of the other, then घसि पैसि becomes redundant. If it may mean a river, the meaning will be clear.

The next line is obscure for want of the first two which are completely caten up by the central hole on the leaf and I dare not restore the reading specially as it undoubtedly contains a riddle. The later part of the line means—“Thus alone one knows she is still alive.”

Leaf No. 3. Pages 1 and 2. Song No. 2.⁷⁵

सुहृब रागे ।

माधवक के विसरलि वरनारि ।

भल⁷⁶ परिहर गुणदोष विचारि ॥

⁷⁵ As noticed above, this song too is found in the printed editions and is the same with material variations as the song No. 767 in N. N. Gupta's edition or No. 761 in Vidyabhusan and Mitras (V. M.) Edition—I note here the variations in the two texts leaving aside mere spelling variations.

⁷⁶ VM has वैर ।

प्रथमहि रभस हृदय⁷⁷ उपजाए ।
 पेमक अंकुर गेला हे बढ़ाए ॥
 आब सेहो भेल श्रीफल गाछ⁷⁸ ।
 तहि तरुतरे मनमथ लेल वास ॥
⁷⁹नयन सरोरुह⁸⁰ दुहु भर नीर ।
 काजर पघरि पघरि पर चीर ॥
 तेजे शोभित⁸¹ भेल उरज सुभेस ।
 जनि मृगमदे पूजू कनक-महेस ॥
⁸²काजरे बाहु उरगं लिच का × ।
 × × नयन रच मलयज पाँक ॥
 मुपुरुषवाचा सुपहु सिनेह ।
 कबहु न विचल पखानक रेह ॥
 भनेइ विद्यापति × हे⁸³ रस जान ।
 राए सिवसिंह लखिमादे (वि)⁸⁴ रमान ॥

⁷⁷ Instead of रभस हृदय V. M. has रङ्ग रभस ।

⁷⁸ V.M. has, instead of this line, से अब दिन दिन तरुनत भास but the reference to श्रीफल is suggestive of the fully developed state of the बनारसी. In song No. 53, Vidyāpati says :—

पहिल बदरि कुच पुन नब रङ्ग

अब कुच बादल सिरिफल जोर

Moreover, without reference to any line in the first line how can the reference to it by ताहि तरुतरे in the second line be appropriate ?

⁷⁹ Before this, there is a stanza of two lines more in V.M. which is not in my *Ms.*, the lines पिक पञ्चम उरे मदन तरास, सर गदगद घन तेज निसास are important.

⁸⁰ V.M. has सरोज

⁸¹ V.M. has निमित्त which is explained as रजित; certainly शोभित is a better reading.

⁸² These two lines, which are obscure for want of letters in both the lines, are not to be found in the printed editions. The meaning seems to be :—Collirium coming down with tears spreads out in the figure of snakes on the arms of the lady while the sandal paste on her forehead melts down and adorns her eyes where the collirium should have been. The missing letter in the first line may be अ giving the word काअ=काँच=green, and the letters in the second line may be कज or कमल to qualify नयन

⁸³ The missing letter must be इ.

⁸⁴ There is no letter after दे which is a mistake of the scribe. There must be either वि or इ.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN HINDU PHILOSOPHY— By Dr. S. K. Saksena, published by Nandkishore and Sons, Benares ; Price Rs. 7-8.

This is a thesis that Dr. Saksena submitted for his Doctorate to the London University. In it, Dr. Saksena has discussed the various aspects of consciousness as set forth in the Upaniṣads and the orthodox systems of Hindu Philosophy and gathers together from a critical study of the systems the most important conclusions at which Hindu thought has arrived regarding the nature of consciousness.

The problems that the author has set himself to solve may be put in the following words :—

1. Is there a non-dual, immediate, and distinctionless consciousness which is universal and unchanging, or is all consciousness always one of distinctions, changing and particular in the form ' this is this ' ?

2. Is consciousness the very *svabhāva* of Ātman or is consciousness only *guṇa* and not the *svabhāva* of it ?

3. How are the two opposites of *cit* and *acit* related ? Are these two substances the one permanently conscious, and the other permanently unconscious, or is there only one reality, *cit* or *acit*, which modifies itself into its opposite ?

After a critical consideration of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsa and other views, Dr. Saksena emphasizes the following points regarding consciousness :—

1. That consciousness is the ultimate presupposition of all knowledge and of all distinctions of *grāhaka*, *grahāṇa*, and *grāhya*.

2. That consciousness is not an attribute of but Ātman itself.

“The subject and the object of knowledge are distinct and different only numerically, and not *per se*. They do not lie wholly outside the range of experience but are rather distinguished within one unitary and universal consciousness. This self-existing and pure consciousness has a double aspect of transcendental and empirical reality. Under the former, it is to be understood as one, universal, unchanging, inactive and distinctionless ; while under the latter, as particular, changing, active, and full of distinctions.” (p. 68).

The author has very convincingly demolished the arguments of Jayanta, Śrīdhara, Rāmānuja and others against the self-illuminacy of consciousness and has upheld the *svataḥprakāśatva* of consciousness.

3. With regard to the problem of *cit* and *acit*, the author is disposed to favour the Advaitic view that *acit* is only a manifestation of *māyā* and concludes by saying that the problem of the relation between *cit* and *acit* is insoluble at the intellectual level.

After a critical survey of the various theories, the author has arrived at the following conclusions regarding consciousness.

1. *Ātman* and *cit* are the same. Their relation is that of *tādātmya* ; *cit* is not the *guṇa* of Ātman.

2. There is self-illuminacy or *svataḥprakāśatva* in consciousness.

3. The *cit sattā* is foundational and the presupposition of the changing states of consciousness as well as the feeling of egoity and personality.

4. Deeper than the realm of phenomenal experiences is the realm of Ātmasvarūpa which is completely devoid both of the fluctuations of experience, however sublime

in themselves they might be, and of the self-consciousness however intensive.

5. "The limit of our thought is not the limit of our experience, it is the limit only of one form of experience. Logic cannot carry us to the end in our search for the ultimate reality, for logic works only so long as the distinctions of the subject and the predicate last, beyond which is the world of the non-different, transcendental consciousness of which we may have only the supra-intellectual and an immediate intuition without the feeling of the 'other'" (p.212).

The author has been influenced through and through by Prof. A. C. Mukerji's 'The Nature of Self,' which is a masterpiece of constructive metaphysical thinking. He has displayed considerable critical acumen in the handling and analysis of the various problems of consciousness. His style is lucid, and his arguments are cogent. He deserves the congratulations of all the lovers of philosophy for his brilliant essay.

The translation of *māyā* as illusion is rather misleading and obscures the deep philosophical significance of the word. The author admits that *cit* in its final aspect transcends the duality of subject and object. The use of the word consciousness for *cit* is, therefore, unhappy. The word consciousness connotes the duality of subject and object. There is hardly a word in English which can bring out the transcendental significance of *cit*, 'Sciousness' would be the nearest word that we can use for it. There are a few misprints which, we hope, will be corrected in the next edition.

—JAIDEVA SINGH.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SAMSKRITA AND PPRĀKRTA MANUSCRIPTS in the Library of the University of Bombay, Books I and II, Pages 9 + 877, 1944, Price Rs. 20 for the whole set.

The volumes under review contain the notices of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS in the Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection and the Bhagavatsinghji Collection of MSS in the University Library of Bombay. It is a very important collection consisting of over 2000 MSS on almost every branch of our studies. The compiler, Professor G. V. Devasthali of H. P. T. College, Nasik, has taken great pains in giving us a good deal of information from these Mss. At times he gives us in great detail almost all the references found in the Ms. How useful would it have been had references and other important notes been given from every Ms? However, all that has been placed before the Orientalists is indeed the result of useful and honest labour of Mr. Devasthali. It would have added to the worth of the volumes, had certain peculiarities of the MSS regarding the date, etc., been given in the Introduction. Both the compiler and the authorities of the University of Bombay deserve congratulation for bringing out this catalogue.

TANTRASIDDHĀNTARATNĀVLIH : By Mm. Pandit A. Chinna-swami Sastri of the Benares Hindu University, 1944, Price Rs. 3.

It is a treatise on Pūrvamīmāṃsā by one of the well-known Panditas of the B. H. U. He belongs to the old traditional school of Mīmāṃsā. There is no doubt that the study of this system has become unpopular, and it is not due to any fault of the reader but to the very nature of the subject-matter of the science itself. But we cannot overlook its importance. We know,

without its help the correct interpretation of the rules of Dharmaśāstra is impossible. We congratulate Pandit Chinnaśwami Sastri for encouraging the study of this science. It is mostly due to him that the study of this Śāstra is still flourishing in the University. Realising the difficulties of the students who cannot afford to devote full time to its study, our Śāstri has written this work in easy language and in brief he has given all that is needed by the beginners of Mīmāṃsā. The appendix supplied by Pt. P. N. Paṭṭābhīrama Sastri is also very useful. It deals with some of the more important points of difference between Kumārila and Prabhakara. It is an useful addition to the literature.

DHVANYALOKA OF ĀNANDAVARDHANA ALONG WITH THE LOCANA OF ABHINAVAGUPTA, KĀUMUDĪ OF UTTANGODAYA AND UPALOCANA OF S. KUPPUSWAMI. First Udyōta. Edited by the late Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and Dr. T. R. Chintamani. Published by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras. 1944. Price Rs. 8.

This is a memorial volume published in the memory of the late Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, a scholar of great reputation. The work was undertaken by Sastriji as early as 1927, but due to his ill-health, it could not be published during his life time. Since a Research Institute has been established associated with his name, it was most befitting to publish this last work of his as the first publication of that Institute.

The *Dhvanyāloka* is one of the most important and authoritative texts on Sanskrit rhetoric. But it is an irony of fate that this book has not been so popular in recent times. That is one of the reasons why at present even when efforts are being made to revive its study no

correct text is available. There have been two more new editions of this work, but much labour is still needed to have a complete and correct edition of it. The edition under review is the outcome of Sastriji's hard labour and scholarship. His own brief notes are quite useful. It is sure to be of immense value to the students, though I am afraid it is very costly and it will be difficult for Sanskrit students to afford to purchase a copy of even this volume, let alone the complete set.

ACYUTARĀYĀBHYUDAYA OF RAJANĀIHA DIṆḌIMA Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar and published by the Adyar Library, 1945. pp XV+38+62. Price Rs. 5-8.

The work under review is a historical kāvya, written in the court of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar (1529-42). It is an interesting piece of literature. The first six cantos of the work were published by the Vaṇivilāsa Press of Srirangam in 1907. The present volume contains 7 to 12 cantos. The editor has added an exhaustive introduction to the book dealing with the various aspects of the work and its author. It is indeed a very good addition to our literature and both the Editor and the Adyar Library authorities deserve our praise for bringing out such a fine work.
